

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

AUSTRIAN INVASION NEED NOT MEAN WAR

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

MAY I comment briefly on the question of the plebiscite proposed in Austria by Schuschnigg, referred to in your leader last week?

I have lived at different times for two years in Austria, and am in close touch with many friends in Innsbruck and elsewhere. They tell me (in letters written during the height of the crisis) that the idea of this plebiscite was rejected *instantly* and with decision by the mass of the people.

No lists of voters were ready (there had been no election for many years); there was no secrecy; open threats of dismissals, &c., were made by the government against those who voted against them; there was no check on the same person voting several times. Moreover, the form of the question was a vote of confidence in Schuschnigg and not a straight vote upon the issue of the Anschluss.

The question for or against a "free Christian German Austria" was disingenuous, as hosts of Nazis were as much in favour of this as were their opponents, and could not honestly vote against a "German Austria." The time—three days—for preparation was totally inadequate. To compile proper lists would have taken a month.

The whole plan was regarded as unacceptable. The possibility of bloodshed in the event of its being thrust upon the people was serious, say my friends.

AUSTRIAN DEMAND

The fact that the remnant of Austria after the war demanded (but was refused by the Allies) the union with Germany (a demand renewed in 1931) alters the situation wholly.

The absorption of Austria by greater Germany in no way compares with the position in respect of other neighbours of Germany. Hitler's policy is the union of Germans under one flag—hardly a crime. Dutch, Belgians, Czechs or Swiss are not Germans, and are not desired as members of the German State. When did Holland or Belgium ask to be included in Germany?

But the movement toward the union has dominated the mind of Austria for twenty years. Hence the amazing enthusiasm which accompanied the entry of German troops. In Innsbruck they were pelted with flowers, cheered to the echo, and were feted for two days and nights. Hardly parallel to the invasion of Belgium.

There is, I feel, no reason why the nerve-shocking events of the last week should lead to war. A knowledge of the actual conditions in Austria before and after the events would go far to banish the idea of war.

STEADY IMPROVEMENT

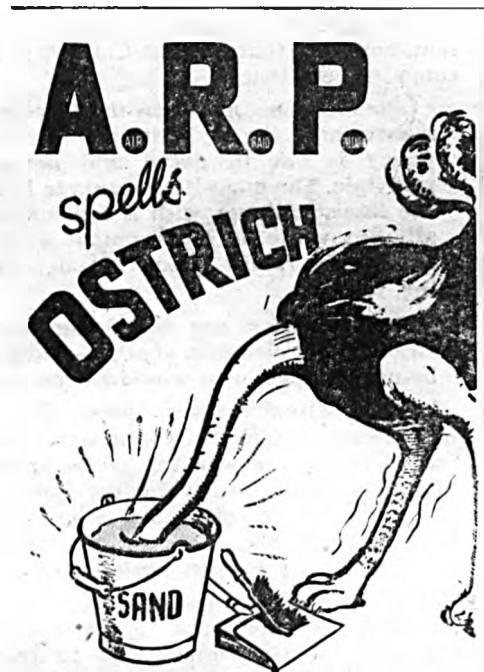
I might add that the economic reasons for union were most powerful. Little Austria could not stand alone. Wages were much below German standards, and there was immense unemployment.

There can be little doubt that the union will bring about a speedy improvement of the position. The fatal weakness of the democracies has always been that they did not act until compelled by fear. If the Allies had listened to Austria's appeals before, this situation would never have occurred.

(Dr.) MEYRICK BOOTH.

111 Norton Way South,
Letchworth, Herts.

Bombs & A.R.P., or Friendship and Peace?



The latest Peace Pledge Union poster warns people of the object of the present drive to rouse interest in air raid precautions. (For price of this poster, see page five.)

ANSWER TO DEMAND FOR A MILLION VOLUNTEERS

Spain Shows up Useless Schemes

CRITICISM of air raid precautions, despite the official attempts to boost them into public favour, is being voiced by those whose job it is to put the precautions into practice.

Such criticisms, allied to the work of pacifists engaged in pointing out the futility of ARP, are no doubt responsible for the fact that in some places volunteers are still scarce, although the press has been called in to back up Sir

with great difficulty could speakers get anyone to show interest.

EFFECT ON THE RATES

Another cause for local dissatisfaction is bound to be the effect the schemes are having on the rates.

Battersea has to face a shilling increase in its rates, and in a statement issued by the chairman of the local council's finance committee it is pointed out that one cause of increased expenditure is ARP, for which estimates have provided £10,000.

Such facts offset the efforts to popularize precautions, although in some cases the latter have admittedly been successful.

In Manchester, 8,000 people have volunteered and 4,000 are still wanted. In London, where 55,000 wardens are wanted, Mr. Herbert Morrison opened the attack on apathy and opposition in a broadcast on Monday night.

Nevertheless, the work of newspapers and public officials is constantly being met by hard facts which show the uselessness of ARP schemes.

What is the use of newspapers publishing complicated drawings of the interior of a gas-proof room (as the *Daily Telegraph* did last week), when this sort of news is coming from Spain?

Bombs have shattered Barcelona in an eighteen-hour air raid, and last night 400 dead and 600 injured lay under the wreckage of huge buildings, beneath overturned buses, trams, and houses.

BOMBERS OR FRIENDSHIP?

But the chief objection to air raid precautions is not merely that they fail to protect against the real danger.

"It's not a choice just between two gas masks, but between two great policies," points out Karlin Capper-Johnson in a leaflet just published by the Friends' Peace Literature Committee (and obtainable from the Northern Friends Peace Board and the Friends Peace Committee for 1d. per copy).

"Shall we try to save our children and our liberty by making friends with the other fellows or by building bombers to bomb them? We've tried the bombers and the only answer we get is more bombers. Let's try friendship even if it does cost us an empire, and see if we don't get friendship."

This is the point that pacifists are making in their work up and down the country to show people that air raid precautions are just a part of the whole policy of bombers.

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

Power of the People

WE didn't ask Captain Harold Balfour, MP, to write a leading article for us, yet the following passage in a letter *The Times* printed from him on Monday night well have been our comment on the Government's decision to avoid further engagements abroad:—

One of the facts of free democracy is that no government can conduct a war programme in this country unless the people are, in the main, solidly behind the government in the execution of a war programme.

In 1914-18 perhaps five percent of the population were against finishing the war to the end. In hundreds of ways they hindered and made matters difficult for the government of the day. Any major division of public opinion as to the desirability of war, say seventy percent for to thirty per-

cent against, or even eighty percent to twenty per cent, and the pursuit of war would be impossible.

The powers of hindrance of a sincere minority would be so great and effective in a free country, with free vote and free press, that we can conclude that unless, say, ninety-five percent of the people are willing to accept the war policy, any government or any parliament which tried to commit the country to hostilities would be discharged by public opinion.

STUDENTS DENY

ARMS WILL

BRING PEACE

Despite claims by the Government that everyone now supports rearmament, a large section of the youth of the country is against it.

Not only is pacifism growing in the universities, as indicated on page nine, but a motion—

That this house approves the rearmament programme as an essential contribution to world peace,

was defeated by 533 votes to 370 in the London University Foundation debate on Monday night. Seventy-eight people abstained from voting.

The Solicitor-General, Sir Terence O'Connor, spoke for the Government, and was opposed by George Lansbury. Sir Stafford Cripps was in the chair.

Mr. Lansbury pointed out that wars never permanently settled anything. "If a statesman in Britain or America would call a conference to organize the sharing of the world, that would be better than flinging the world's youth to destruction," he said.

Samuel Hoare's recent appeal for a million volunteers.

One such place is Alton, in Hampshire, where the volunteers are not coming in so fast as the urban council would like. Last week only eighty had enrolled and 300 are needed.

"The council is aware of their necessity," said Mr. A. G. Framingham, a retired army schoolmaster member of the council, at the monthly meeting, "but unfortunately in Alton the most vocal and vociferous people are the peace people."

In Lancashire, which needs 50,000 to 60,000 air raid wardens, only 25,000 have volunteered so far. The chairman of Lancashire County Council said last week that the council was not happy about the ARP conferences held in Lancashire. There was too much indifference and not much enthusiasm. Only

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Glasgow members of the Peace Pledge Union held a demonstration against the recent black-out of parts of the city.

(Continued from Page 1, Column 4). The alternative of "bombers or friendship" is being placed before the public by pacifists just at the time when the authorities are encouraging the idea that ARP schemes are measures just like fire brigades and medical services. The latter suggestion overlooks the fact that, as is pointed out in a statement now being discussed by groups of the Peace Pledge Union in connexion with their local propaganda work,

Nations do not make war without a reason, and if we wish to protect ourselves and our institutions and avoid the calamity of war, we must recognize that it is our own position of economic advantage, achieved and maintained by force, that is causing other nations to threaten aggression. Until we are prepared to sacrifice our exclusive interest for the sake of justice and equality, there will be no peace. If we accept ARP, then we accept the transformation of our country into a total military unit no less self-interested in attitude and no less ruthless in action than the dictatorships which we are at such pains to condemn.

(See leading article, page eight.)

NEW GODS FOR OLD

From a translation of a Soviet Daghestan poem addressed to the Leader:

Above the valley
The mountain peak
Above the peak
The sky.
But Stalin,
Skies have no height.
To equal you
Only your thoughts
Rise higher.
The stars, the moon
Pale before the sun
That pales in turn
Before your shining mind.

American New Leader (February 26.)

The War Resister
is the quarterly news-sheet of the
WAR RESISTERS'
INTERNATIONAL,
published in
English, French, German, and
Esperanto.
3d. per copy, 1s. 2d. per annum,
post free.
From W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road,
Enfield, Middlesex.
WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE
AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK

"What would one do if one
had the power?" is answered by

J. M. Keynes

in a
POSITIVE PEACE PROGRAMME

See to-day's
NEW STATESMAN
AND NATION

All stalls SIXPENCE and shops

DEEDS as well as WORDS

REPORTS of very encouraging increases in the numbers of PEACE NEWS sold in the streets in towns in different parts of the country show that readers are backing up with action their words of welcome to the bigger and better paper.

There is no space to quote from the further letters of welcome we have received since last week, but they are nevertheless appreciated. May they, too, be followed by more intensive salesmanship.

MORE LIBRARIES

Still more public libraries are displaying the paper. Letters received this week tell of its entry into libraries at: Abergavenny, Bangor, Gillingham, Grantham, and St. Helens (Lancashire), and bring the total up to 309.

More than Twice as Many Bombers

An answer to a question in the Commons recently revealed that on March 1, 1937, the British air force had 25 fighter squadrons compared with 63 bomber squadrons. Since that date 5 fighter squadrons and 20 bomber squadrons had been added. Other figures relating to R A F strength on March 1, 1937, were:

10 army cooperation squadrons;
14 general reconnaissance squadrons; and
4 torpedo bomber squadrons;

In the Fleet air arm there were the equivalent of 20 squadrons.

Upon Mr. Garro-Jones asking how many bombers had a total range, out and home, of 1,200 miles or more in calm air, it was stated that "it would not be in the public interest to give the information"—although unofficial figures had been given in *The Times* and the *Aeroplane*.

"The socialist benches had an uncomfortable half-hour while their former leader, Mr. Lansbury, attacked their policy. Until three years ago they used to cheer him when he said almost the same things from the Opposition dispatch box," reported the *Daily Telegraph* of March 8.

Public Affairs

The "Peace Front"

ON the basis of the Austrian scare, there has been much talk in the past week of a new political line-up. On Sunday, *Reynolds News* published a leading article, which is understood to have the support of several prominent labour leaders, advocating a coalition government of labour, liberal, and dissident Tories.

There is talk of a Cabinet including Churchill, Eden, Attlee, and Sinclair, but excluding Chamberlain. It is quite certain, however, that no such Cabinet will come into existence.

The difference between the Government's and the opposition's foreign policy is one of detail and not of principle. The opposition wants to face the fascist alliance with a democratic alliance, while the Government wants to split the fascist alliance by detaching Italy.

Both policies are based on war strategy, the elements of reconciliation being only put in as window dressing.

In such circumstances, conservatism will always win, for the country realizes that in matters of war, the Tories know the game inside out, while the Labour Party are mere amateurs who will fail through the delicacy of their democratic and pacifist background.

If the opposition parties are to be effective, they must stop trying to beat the National Government at its own game and discover the true basis of an alternative policy.

"Sacrifices"

WITH the Budget statement only a fortnight ahead, there is much speculation as to the nature of the sacrifices which the Prime Minister foreshadowed in his recent speech on the Austrian coup.

On Tuesday, *The Times* had a leading article of restrained optimism whose purpose was apparently to cheer up the Stock Exchange which has recently been suffering from a severe panic. It is doubtful, however, whether the Chancellor will be able to produce the "prosperity Budget" which the Government had been hoping for.

Trade Unions and Rearmament

THE TIMES concluded its leading article by emphasizing the necessity of sacrifices from all members of the community. On the same day it was announced that Sir Thomas Inskip had invited leaders of several important trades unions to meet him on Thursday, which they agreed to do.

He will probably have a difficult time persuading the unions to accept encroachment on their rights. But as the unions have accepted the rearmament programme in principle, they can hardly deny the Government the means of carrying it out.

Any opposition which the unions may have to rearmament is of a political character and is not based on individual conscientious objection to armaments themselves. The unions are thus essentially incorporate in a society whose whole function is war-like.

Like their counterparts in Parliament, they will not be able to oppose until they discover the necessary basis for opposition.

Spain

RECENT revelations of the degree of Italian and German intervention in Spain must have made it clear to any who are still in doubt that the Spanish War is an essential part of the strategic plans of the Berlin-Rome axis.

The value of Spain to the axis is threefold. It would complete the control of the Mediterranean, threaten the southern frontier of France, thus weakening her position in middle Europe, and provide Germany with ores and other materials which she cannot get elsewhere.

The British Government is still basing

Commentary

its policy on an effort to buy Italy out of the axis, but it is clear that neither this policy nor the opposite policy of intervention on the Spanish Government side will save the situation.

The Spanish War is an integral part of the general dissatisfaction of the unsatisfied Powers and cannot be considered as an isolated problem.

The British Government can only stop intervention in Spain by announcing publicly that it will consider all the claims of unsatisfied nations and attempt to seek a general remedy even at our own expense.

The Italian Talks

THE Italian talks are "progressing satisfactorily." Signor Mussolini is anxious to reach some definite agreement before Herr Hitler's visit to Rome.

This might give him a strong bargaining counter in the difficult discussions which the two dictators will have on their respective spheres of influence in Europe.

The subjects which have been discussed are still not known, but they probably include the definition of Abyssinian frontiers and labour rights in the Balearic Islands. That this latter should be discussed seems a little strange in view of the fact that both Italy and Great Britain are on the Non-Intervention Committee.

National Register

THE TIMES, whose correspondence columns have recently been fulminating with demands for compulsory service, came out on Wednesday with a leader demanding a National Register. The purpose of such a register would be to discover the qualifications of every member of society in order to ascertain their most useful function in time of war.

This is the logical method of putting the country on an efficient war basis. As usual, in preparation for war, we can do best by imitating the dictatorships.

Japanese Boycott

NO more has been heard of the proposed national ballot on a boycott of Japanese goods, and actually the proposal has been virtually abandoned.

Several weeks ago Lord Cecil set up a committee to arrange the plans of the campaign. This committee was composed largely of Conservatives and prominent members of the Trade Union movement, and virtually excluded the IPC.

Several meetings were held, but nothing was decided; progress was further suspended by Eden's resignation, and again by the Austrian crisis. Neither the Labour Party nor the trade unions are willing to support the boycott, the latter feeling that any organized action on their part would be a violation of the 1926 agreements.

Freedom of the Press

IT is a matter for thankfulness that in this country we still have real freedom of the press and that public opinion is formed by the free and unfettered expression of a great variety of opinions.

Nothing is more vital for all we stand for as a country than the fearless expression of different points of view.

Never were English ideals of political freedom more widely challenged than they are today, and never was the proclamation of our continued belief in personal freedom more important. At the dictation of no country can we tolerate interference with that freedom in our time.

—Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Colonial Secretary, at a luncheon given by the "National Review" on Thursday of last week.

Holland

MILITARISM THREATENS
ANOTHER DEMOCRACYPolice Action Hinders Pacifist
Propaganda

LAST WEEK we gave impressions of Nazi Germany received by two English visitors. We print below a survey of one of Germany's neighbours, by a Dutch correspondent, living near The Hague.

Once again our survey gives information not usually found in news from the country concerned.

SOCIAL SERVICES SACRIFICED

From Our Own Correspondent

RIJSWIJK, Holland.

THIS is generally thought to be a very rich country, with not many slums, everything brightly painted, and cows in big green meadows (although forty per cent. of us never eat anything but margarine).

Holland's approximately 8,000,000 inhabitants "own" the colonial possessions in the Dutch East Indies, with a population of some 65,000,000, who live at a very low standard.

The number of unemployed in Holland fluctuates, but has never been less than 425,000 in the last five years. Direct taxes average per head (babies included) some 100 guilders a year (£1 equals nine guilders). Indirect taxes (on food, dress, tobacco, &c.), come to another 3s. 5d.

The government economizes on all social services—health, hospitals, education, instruction, labour inspection, State testing of food, the "dole," &c. The undernourishment of school children in towns and in the country is alarming. The birthrate is lower than ever before.

WAR
BUDGET

Yet the Government, through its 100 MPs (with the exception of the two Christian-Democratic Union members) recently voted for a war budget increase of 60,000,000 guilders, a longer time of compulsory military service, and a rise in number of recruits from 19,500 to 32,000 men.

Every year some twenty conscientious objectors go to prison. Until now the sentence has been one of ten months. Now, however, COs are punished, as a rule, by twelve months' loss of freedom. Those performing the two years' alternative service will no longer do so in various branches of governmental service, but in an isolated work camp.

To keep Holland a "democratic" country, to prevent its being annexed by fascists, leads parliament and

labour to consent to every kind of undemocratic war preparation.

There are new barracks, garrisons and munition factories. Army and navy men again feel indispensable. The press, the cinema, and the radio are full of their activities.

PACIFISTS WORK
AGAINST ODDS

Pacifists have a bad time. They do their utmost to keep their pacifist papers alive, to publish pamphlets, to carry on propaganda at home and in the streets, and to hold meetings.

In all this they are literally dogged and persecuted by the police and the law. House-searching is no exception.

At The Hague, for example, two organizations own advertising vans—one used as a trailer to a car, the other pushed by hand. Again and again they have been seized by the police and kept for weeks.

When assistance in black-outs and anti-air raid drill becomes compulsory in the near future, things are bound to be still more difficult and uncomfortable.

Parents who forbid their sons to do military service are punished. So far there have only been a few cases.

Spain

The Boy who Wanted
To Be Ill

About 56 of the suitcases full of clothing and toys sent from America by the body called World Friendship among Children found their way to Murcia, and caused quite a sensation, reports a young American relief worker recently in Spain.

"A number are being given out to the children who leave the hospitals, and they are all looking forward to leaving," he continues.

"The other day the son of the director of the warehouse asked his father if he was going to the hospital.

"He was ill with an infection in his intestines. The father said: 'I thought you didn't want to go to the hospital, Carlitos.'

"Yes," replied Carlitos, 'but they have plenty of good food there, and then when I leave I will get a suitcase.'

"Papa, papa," called Carlitos' young brother, beginning to cry, 'I want to get sick, too.'

France

A Link in a Crisis

The French pacifist weekly, *La Patrie Humaine*, has formed a useful means of getting pacifists together for common action during the past few critical weeks.

Recent events have led to special activity in different parts of France, and notices appealing to *Groupes des Amis de la PH* ("Friends of *La Patrie Humaine*") show that French pacifists have not allowed the crisis to stop their work for peace.

Germany

An Official
Relents

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Meize is a teacher. She really loves the work and loves the children. Her school is on the extreme side of Dresden, on the frontier.

One side of the street is Germany and the other side of the street is Czechoslovakia. Recently a nice new restaurant opened in Czechoslovakia, just near the school; and Meize started to go there every day for her lunch.

One day a very severe looking official stopped her.

"Where's your passport?" he demanded.

"I haven't got it with me," she answered.

"Then I'll have to detain you," he said.

"Oh, that's quite all right with me," Meize answered (and I can imagine how she would smile).

"I'm a teacher. My school is across the way there and my girls will be waiting for me, but if you keep me I shall have a nice little holiday and the girls won't mind. They'll have a little change, too."

Meize says he looked ready to murder her, and all he could say was, "You'd better pass on then."

U.S.A.

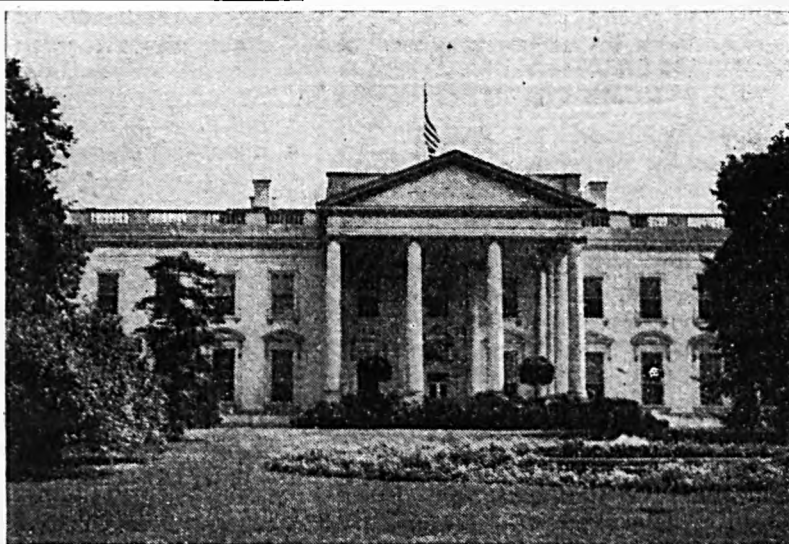
Next War Will Be
AggressiveHOW IT WILL BE
PUT OVER

Clergy Refuse Help

"THE next war into which the United States plunges, if such a war comes, will not be, in any strict sense, defensive," said Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, well-known American pacifist, at a New York conference on "The Church and War."

"Any war the United States wages in any imaginable future will be, in the

The
White House,
the
President's
home during
his term
of office

PRESIDENT
FLOUTS
PUBLIC
OPINION

A POLL of American public opinion last month showed that more than six out of every ten people were against the shipment of arms or ammunition to China, despite the fact that polls taken during September and October last year showed that sympathy with China was growing.

The polls were conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion, and are considered the most scientific gauge of people's attitudes to public questions.

"Is it not possible," suggested the American journal *Fellowship*, "that the idea that no cause, no country, is helped by violence is gradually permeating the body politic of this nation?"

Voting on other questions submitted was as follows:—

Ludlow Resolution: "In order to declare war should Congress be required to obtain the approval by means of a national vote?" September, 1936—"Yes," 71 percent; "No," 29 percent. October, 1937—"Yes," 73 percent; "No," 27 percent.

Neutrality: "Which plan for keeping out of war do you have more faith in: having Congress pass stricter neutrality laws, or leaving the job to the President?" October, 1937—for stricter neutrality, 69 percent; for discretionary neutrality, 31 percent.

Withdrawal from China: "Which policy should the Government follow with regard to American citizens in China:—1. Warn them to leave and withdraw our soldiers and naval forces, or 2. Continue to maintain the present armed forces in China for their protection?" January, 1938—for withdrawal, 70 percent; against withdrawal, 30 percent.

War Loans to China or Japan: against, 95 percent; for, 5 percent.

An overwhelming public desire for neutrality is shown in the results," commented Dr. Gallup, Director of the Institute of Public Opinion.

An examination of the polls shows that since September, 1936, public opinion has been against President Roosevelt's foreign policy by votes ranging from the 64 percent against shipments of arms to China, to the 95 percent against war loans.

The President was also flouting public opinion, as revealed by these polls, in failing to apply the Neutrality Act, and in refusing to allow the Ludlow Resolution even to be discussed in Congress.

strict sense of the word, aggressive," he continued.

"That is, it will be the use of our army or navy in Europe or the Far East to straighten out some tangle in other nations' affairs under the guise of protecting some prestige or interest of our own. This is the basic realistic fact which propaganda in this country is doing its best to disguise and conceal.

"In persuading us to engage in this adventure in the policing of some disturbed area of the globe, we are going to be played upon by three major species of appeal:—

"First, we shall be told that we must be going to war to save democracy. We tried that some twenty years and more ago and left the world with less democracy than it had had in generations. The reason is obvious. War itself is the worst enemy democracy has, worse even than the world's dictatorships.

"We shall also be told that isolation is immoral and impossible, and that we are ethically responsible for the straightening out of Europe and the Far East. I agree that isolation is an ugly name. I agree that no final solution of our international affairs is possible without collective action for security. But it is not illogical to be a firm believer in collective action for peace, and a firm disbeliever in collective action for war.

"We shall be told once more that we ought to be morally indignant about some evil being done in Asia and Europe. I agree that moral indignation is an important part of life, but it is a dangerous part, and it is commonly made up of emotional prejudices, biases, and inherited antipathies. What we need more than moral indignation is diagnosis. And diagnosis shows that war cures nothing evil and creates nothing good, ends no wrongs and brings no reformations.

CLERGY WILL NOT HELP

"Certainly, so far as we here tonight are involved, we never again will prostitute our religious faith to the sanction or support of another war, knowing that alike in causes, processes, and consequences, war is the blatant denial of everything that great religion represents."

A body of 216 Christian ministers and Jewish rabbis from Greater New York and many nearby communities, as well as from distant cities, reaffirmed, at the conference, their renunciation of war. Over 150 had already consecrated themselves to a Covenant of Peace, the remaining sixty representing new support for the Covenant.

... TOLD BY AN IDIOT

An all too topical tragedy

IN THREE ACTS

By EVELYN KINGSWOOD

2/6 post free

The Water Press, Tannan

News from the Four Corners

HAMPSHIRE

Portsmouth group has arranged to spend the weekend, May 14 and 15, on board the Implacable, an old French prize moored at the back of Portsmouth Harbour. Members of other groups in North Hampshire have already promised to attend and members of other groups will be very welcome. Activities on board include swimming, rowing and sailing. The total cost is 4s. 6d. For further information write to B. C. Thomas, 60, Warren Avenue, Milton, Southsea.

Alton PPU have distributed 250 copies of last week's issue of this paper to householders. A printed slip on each copy states that the copy is complimentary, asks for orders to be placed at newsagents, and invites readers to the local group meetings. Women members of the group have started selling PEACE NEWS in the street, and at their first attempt two of them sold two dozen copies in seventy minutes.

HOME COUNTIES

Lord Arnold and Mr. Eric Gill urged the need for international cooperation to end world greed at a High Wycombe meeting last week organized by the local PPU group, primarily as a memorial meeting to Dick Sheppard. Pacifism, Lord Arnold said, stood for a constructive positive policy of economic appeasement, the removal of the causes of war.

Mr. Gill emphasized that "there is no defence today. The only point about these air raid precautions is that people may not give way and stop the war too soon." The meeting was presided over by the Rev. S. H. Reader, and was also addressed by Miss Ruth Fry and Wilfred Wellock. Among the activities of the High Wycombe group is a peace book-stall which it is running in cooperation with the local For group.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Members from Kettering, Wellingborough, and Wolverhampton groups attended the general meeting of the Northampton PPU. The secretary's report on the year's activities was most impressive, and the treasurer was able to show that a steady income had been balanced by an equally steady expenditure. The general spirit of optimism and sense of well-being at this meeting was remarkable and the automatic re-election of the officers and committee showed that the members were not slow to appreciate the good work that is going on.

NORTH-WEST

"Convert Hitler and Mussolini and you'll convert us—you'll get four for two." This was one of the answers given by two young men to members of the Height (Salford) group, who ran a stall at a two-days' bazaar at one of the local churches. Again and again the fear of the aggressive intentions of Germany was put forward as an objection to the absolute pacifist position.

Nevertheless, 33 copies were sold in about an hour.

Mrs. E. Pethick-Lawrence, who stood as a pacifist candidate in Manchester at the "Hang the Kaiser and make Germany pay" election twenty years ago, returned to address a meeting of the Manchester PPU last week. She had to admit, she said, that Dick Sheppard had pointed to the only path which humanity could take if it was to escape total destruction. In the beginning the path would have to be taken by a few who did not count personal risks and costs.

SOUTH-EAST

Faversham organized a large public meeting with very little funds and the collection still left them £3 4s. short. But it takes more than this to disappoint the Faversham PPU. They promptly organized a jumble sale which yielded a profit of £7 10s. Anyone who wants to know "how it was done" should write to Cyril J. Salmon, 52, Makenade Avenue, Faversham.

SOUTH-WEST

Bideford group is now only three weeks old, but they are very active, and some of their present activities may

suggest ideas to other groups. Among other things, they are asking newsagents to display several copies of PEACE NEWS each week, for which they will be financially responsible if not sold; sending out peace leaflets to clergymen asking for criticism; they have written to a local cinema manager congratulating him on showing a news-reel of the Spanish war accompanied by quite a pacific commentary; they have sent copies of the resolution of the Devon regional conference to four newspapers, the local MP, the Prime Minister, and to Mr. Attlee.

WALES

A series of important public meetings is a feature of PPU activity in Wrexham at present. Great interest has already been aroused and the group members are giving loyal support to the campaign. We were particularly glad to hear of one reply to the questionnaire which was sent to all signatories asking them if they could help in a whole list of activities ranging from addressing meetings to addressing envelopes. One member answered "Yes" in almost every case!

Colwyn Bay's anti-ARP meetings correspond with an appeal in the local paper for volunteers for air raid warden and other services. This meeting is to be followed by another in which the constructive case of pacifism will be indicated.

Wales does not intend to be behind-hand in the drive for peace. At the North Wales Regional Conference held at Bangor last Saturday, over half the fifty odd delegates attending were Welsh-speaking, and the regional committee which they elected were specially charged with the task of solving the problem of literature and speech propaganda in Welsh. Accordingly, at the public meeting organized by the Bangor group and held the same evening, an address in Welsh was given by Mr. Hywel D. Lewis, a young lecturer in philosophy from University College, Bangor, who effectively demonstrated the futility of every alleged alternative to absolute pacifism. Lady Artemus Jones presided, and Mr. John Barclay also spoke.

YORKSHIRE

Mr. L. Pedley, correspondent of Leeds group, sends us a splendid letter quoting a criticism of air raid precautions by a member of that body, extracted from an account which appeared in the local paper. We urge other correspondents to look out for important statements in the local press and to communicate them to PEACE NEWS.

Reports from South Yorkshire reveal a rapid increase in PPU activity. Wakefield group is engaged in studying Bertrand Russell's *Which Way to Peace*, and in organizing criticism of the ARP proposals. Local signatories are advised to communicate with the secretary, Mr. Ernest Shuttleworth, 3, Duke of York Street, Wakefield. The group has already lent a helping hand to Barnsley members, who are also forming a group, and it is hoped that Wombwell and Cudworth will soon follow suit. A film show at Hoyland has done a great deal toward attracting new members in the district, and we hope that other groups will follow the example of Wakefield in encouraging undeveloped neighbourhoods to get started. This should be a feature of the programme of every progressive group.

NEW COLOURED POSTER

The Van Zeeland Report provides an Alternative to War, don't let it be pigeon-holed! This is the wording of an attractive coloured poster just published by the Friends' Peace Literature Committee for the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds, and the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

Volunteers for selling PEACE NEWS are wanted on Saturday afternoons and week nights in Leeds. Get into touch with J. Michael Rosenblum, 4 Grange Terrace, Chapeltown, Leeds 7.

GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

THERE is a note of despair in the words uttered by labour leaders these days. They have abandoned all hope of peace and gloomily look forward to a war of exhaustion out of which they see no chance of socialism emerging. They talk of a coalition with the National Government as a means to combat fascism.

Bereft of hope—bankrupt of ideas—they find their membership apathetic and listless. The reports I get from all over the country speak of a growing interest by labour parties (and especially women's sections) in the work of the PPU.

The only alternative to national suicide is a vigorous campaign for international pacifism. All group leaders will have received copies of a plan for such a campaign, the strength and value of which rest so largely in their hands.

Given an alternative, the human spirit will revive—having faced up to almost certain extinction—so that the hope of a way out, whatever the risk, will come as a release. The breaking of the dam of fear will cause such a flood of hope to burst through that the present barren fields of political and economic thought will send out shoots in all directions, and the courage needed to save the situation will be fed from the resulting crop.

Never before have individuals had such a glorious chance. Democracy is being born again within the PPU; faith, hope and charity and the greatest of these is charity. Forward then to a policy of reconciliation and appeasement, pioneers of a new age, history is being written and we can write it. Let April 1 be the new day when fools turned wise and the future will be safe.

Optimism run mad? No, faith triumphant! The world is waiting for a lead, let us give it.

The annual general meeting is close upon us, and there will be a chance of meeting many who are known to me by name. It is hoped that between the sessions "birds of a feather" will obey their natural instincts and "flock."

Teachers, scouts, university graduates, and others will exchange news and ideas and make contacts which will lead to further conferences between them. I am anxious to act as "Jack of all trades" and it would be helpful if anyone wishing to meet anyone else will apply to me so that I can arrange the meeting.

There will be a free morning on the Sunday, when parties can be arranged, and I hope this will be used. Delegates are coming from every part of the British Isles. Ireland will be represented as well as the Dominions.

Regional committees are being set up in all parts and you will see from the reports from Wales how much has been done to consolidate the work of the groups in this part of the country.

I have been attending a series of meetings in North Wales during the last few days and found everywhere tremendous enthusiasm and activity.

As a typical example, fifty delegates from various North Wales groups met to discuss the formation of a regional council. One after another the delegates reported the holding of largely attended meetings, and the ever-increasing demand for pacifist literature and for PEACE NEWS. Finally, a committee of twelve was appointed with the Rev. J. P. Davies, of Portmadoc, as chairman.

ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT
FOR PEACE NEWS

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

TODAY a small military aeroplane flew low over the house, making an unusual screaming noise. When I returned to the house I found that there had been a small panic.

Someone had called "The sirens!" The porch was filled with excited children, already beginning to laugh away their fears. But Teresita, although smiling again, was chalky white, and Amparito's eyes and cheeks were all wet with tears.

Valeriana makes a tentative entry into the office, but the "Director's" secretary tells her that the "Director" is busy. Later she pops in by the other door. Something is in the air.

After a spot of mutual "come-on" and holding back, enter Asun, Luisa, Teresa, and Anselma, Anselma looking particularly brown and pretty in her orange knitted jumper and English gym dress. They bear between them a formidable bar of iron, our largest stoking rod, and without so much as by your leave, the show begins.

While the others hold the iron "trapeze" Anselma performs on it, contorting herself in various turns which they call the clock, the frog, the twirl, the rabbit, and the salute. These executed, everyone laughs, the "Director" shakes the artiste by the hand, and without further comment, out they all go. The delightful little scene is over.

THE NOTICE BOARD

First meeting Teachers' Group, April 2, 11 a.m., Friends' House, London.

From March 28 the Library at Headquarters will be open every day from 1 to 2 p.m., and, except Saturdays, from 6 to 8 p.m.

An open discussion on immediate objectives and methods of carrying out the part of the constitution of the Birmingham Council of the PPU which states "To give the lead for a vigorous policy of non-violent non-cooperation, and resistance to all war preparations, and to aim to remove the causes of war," will be held at 7.45 p.m. on Monday in the Shakespeare Rooms, 174 Edmund Street (Snow Hill end), Birmingham. Sydney George Conbeer, vice-chairman of the Council, will be chairman.

Loud-speaker Car will tour all towns and villages of Devon during April and May, with Dick Sheppard's record and literature. Will all members please make themselves known to the area organizer, Mr. E. C. Maddax, who will be travelling with the car.

Information wanted about shipping—particularly services flying the Panama Flag—in connexion with work for certain refugees. Get into touch with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

City group "at home" now meets from 12-2 on Fridays. Bring your lunch. Tea obtainable. All invited.

Contributions toward Lambeth Library's copies of PEACE NEWS would be greatly appreciated from any group in this Borough. Send to R. A. Hemby, 124 St. Louis Road, S.E.27.

Wanted: volunteers for poster parades, Newton Abbot (March 26, 3.30 p.m.); Torquay (April 9, 3.30 p.m.); Exeter (April 16, 3.30 p.m.). Write E. C. Maddax, 39 Manor Road, Newton Abbot.

Groups wanting film show before the summer apply as soon as possible. Dates still vacant are: April 2-6 and 13-30, except 19 and 29.

Two Basque children at Basque House are still unadopted. Would anyone like to adopt one?

Volunteers required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet sixth floor at 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Members and friends in West Kent Region invited to ramble, March 27, 10.15 a.m. from Gravesend Central Station. Length 12 to 15 miles. Organizer, John Haynes, 16, Frensham Road, New Eltham, S.E.9.

Volunteers needed for office work in connexion with PPU. Apply in first instance to 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

All in London who would be willing to put up delegates to annual general meeting for night of April 2, write John Barclay, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

All welcome at prayers for peace at All Saints, Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m., every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by a conference.

PPU meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Beacon Café, Hanworth Road, Hounslow (near Congregational Church).

Please note that all forms for application for the Loud-speaker Van, and particulars of Groups' and Region cooperation in the campaign should reach PPU Headquarters by March 31.

The next group leaders' meeting will be held on March 29 at 7.30 p.m. in the Father Jellicoe Hall, Drummond Crescent, Seymour Street, near Euston Station—not at King's Weigh House.

A special poster parade will be held on March 26 at 6.30 p.m. from 96 Regent Street. The general subject will be ARP.

P.P.U. Members on

Annual General Meeting

In your issue of March 12, Frank Middleton has admirably put the case for taking "the general sense of the meeting without the resort to actual voting." This is a method of conducting the business of a pacifist organization which has a great deal to be said for it, and can be commended for use in the small group meetings. But in our desire to preserve the "spirit of social behaviour" we must be aware of using a method which may be unsuited to the meeting in question, and so abrogate the principles of democracy.

At the annual general meeting of a national organization, the decisions to be taken must represent not the feeling of the meeting, but the feeling of the movement. Hence it seems essential that propositions shall not be, as Frank Middleton suggests, informally laid before the meeting, but shall have first been sent to the groups for discussion, so that they may instruct their delegates on their wishes, the delegates voting as delegates and not according to their individual views.

Further, the conference will be attended by say 300 delegates representing tens of thousands of members over the whole country, and 800 or so individuals, drawn largely from the Home Counties, representing only themselves. In the discussion one voice counts the same as another, and how is a chairman to assess the feeling of the movement, when in the meeting two thirds of those present represent only themselves, and the delegates of the 140,000 signatures over the whole country are in a minority?

It is sought to avoid "conflict between a tyrannical majority and an oppressed minority" let us not fall into the greater error of hiding the wishes of the vast majority under the desires of an infinitesimal minority.

DENIS RILEY.

13, Beech Avenue, Horsforth, near Leeds.

Good Will

It was Dick Sheppard's great love for mankind that set him aflame for peace, and drove him to action in founding this movement. I feel sure that he intended the PPU to be on a religious basis, but in the largeness of his heart—and here was the secret of his greatness—he threw it open to all men of good will who would work together for peace.

It is this good will that I believe should be the keynote of the PPU. It is the answer to threats, violence and oppression. It is the only oil that will make the wheels of civilization turn at all smoothly. It is the only way to win men to any cause for the betterment of the human race.

I am not in favour of a sort of entrance examination into our movement for convinced pacifists; but I do suggest that as a body, the PPU should stand for a definite attitude toward life—that of love and good will. This

is the course that we are advocating that this country should take against other nations; it is the same course that we should adopt personally toward those whom we wish to convince of the rightness of our position. They will finally be convinced by the sort of people we are—by our sanity and sincerity, and by the quality of our personalities.

A. E. P. McAINSH.

70, Vernon Avenue, Raynes Park, S.W.20.

Carnival Tableau

The local hospital authorities have invited the Wembley group to enter a tableau in the carnival procession in July.

It is felt here that this should be a constructive effort and positive in appeal. Any suggestion or details of similar experiences from other groups will be gratefully received.

SAMUEL E. PEAT.

1, Ashton Court, Harrow.

Two Sections?

I should like to see the PPU divided into two sections (don't be alarmed, it is already so divided): Section one refuses to defend by force of arms; section two refuses to be defended by force of arms.

I am under the impression that if we had a greater distinction between the two we might be able to get the invaluable help of all churches which, I am sure, would like to help foster the cause of peace, but keep away from the PPU because the refusal to fight means disobedience to the authorities, whereas there is not as yet (with the emphasis on the "as yet") a law compelling the civilian population, mostly women, to allow itself to be defended at the expense of other people.

Women must make the most of that freedom now, while it still exists.

Could we not arrange a women's conference where these things can be discussed, suggestions made, initiative taken? This work could give an opportunity for work to the less gifted and help to relieve them of that sense of helplessness and frustration which often assails them.

LILY LENZI.

Holloway.

A.R.P.

There is a letter in PEACE NEWS (March 19) from a Mr. Chilver containing, I think, a most excellent suggestion. If it is adopted I shall be very pleased to pay 3d. per week.

(Mrs.) W. CARR.

Thornwood, Stocksfield, Northumberland.

[Mr. Chilver suggested a levy on members to support whole-time volunteers to carry on anti-ARP propaganda.—Ed.]

MAX PLOWMAN writes . . .

THE need of the hour is for prophets.

Not panic-stricken Jeremiahs rushing about and wailing precautions, but men who have faith in certain principles and the vision to foresee how their faith may be fulfilled. For what is a prophet? A prophet is simply a person who can truly relate cause and effect: one whose knowledge of life is such that he can say with accuracy: "If this is done today, that will be the consequence tomorrow."

We live in an age of scientists; but in this power to predict, the prophet differs fundamentally from the scientist whose interest is confined to things already existent. The predictions of the prophet will always be open to doubt until they come true, while the findings of the scientist will always be accepted as true unless and until a greater knowledge disproves them. Because we desire a future, let us look to our prophets, and, if possible, cease to stone them.

* * *

The need of the world in 1918 was for prophets—for men who could say: if you do this, that will follow. And it had them. Only they weren't believed: the Balfours and Churchills and Northcliffes and Bottomleys were believed in preference to the Lansdownes and Massinghams and Lansburys and Ponsonbys.

The prophets of that day said: "If you crush Germany, what can she do but struggle incessantly to overcome your oppression? And when she succeeds, do you think she will love you, or fail to show the ugly marks of her suffering and her servitude?" But the men who had won the War replied: "What have we won the War for if it is not to crush Germany? Have we been fighting these four years for nothing?" And they were angry if anyone was heartless and foolish enough to say "Yes".

* * *

But a worse thing happened to the world than the Treaty of Versailles. That worse thing was the making of the League Covenant a trailer to the Treaty. For by so doing, Retribution, Vindictiveness, and Indifference drove the Treaty pell-mell over the lives and hopes of helpless people, while the trailer, which contained the ideal effigies of Equity, Disarmament, International Law, and Peace, could not but follow the car by which it was

dragged; the onlooker being free to dissociate them in his mind and concentrate his attention upon whichever one of them he liked best.

Moreover, when anyone was run over by the Peace Treaty, it was always possible to say that the merciful trailer was coming along in due course. And people who mis-trusted the drivers of the car as emissaries of peace—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and the other chaps—could always be invited to take a seat in the trailer, alongside Lord Cecil, and see for themselves what divine goddesses he was taking for a ride. Yet a prophet could have foretold that if you hitch a star to your wagon, surely enough your wagon will get stuck in the mud and less than twenty years after you will find yourself impotently pleading

Twinkle, twinkle little star

How I wonder what you are!—which is very much what we are all wondering about the League of Nations today.

* * *

The unspeakable folly of the Peace Treaty is being daily illustrated in the events now happening in Europe. A war between national sovereignties, whose political ambitions had been followed in contradiction to the economic federation and unity toward which they had all been unconsciously working, was concluded by a peace which—instead of making economic appeasement and unity its keystone and very first provision—hacked the Continent to pieces in its endeavour to present national sovereignties to any and every State, or portion of a State, that could claim a distinctive name for itself.

In defiance of the causes of war, the Peace Treaty simply multiplied them. Why? Well, in order to divide the spoils of victory among the victors, it was necessary that the losers, and less important Powers, should be kept in conditions of comparative impotence. And by what more effective way could this be accomplished than by the provision of a large number of weak little States? What, too, could be more gratifying to each one of them than the presentation of a tinsel crown of complete autonomy under the mighty protection of the League? Thus the very converse of the natural growth toward unity through interdependence—the inevitable consequence of increasing international trade relations—was put into action by the Treaty of Versailles; and instead of the Federated States of Europe as a natural consequence of the Great War, we have for our inheritance the anarchic Continent of today. Is this the heritage the recruiting posters invite us to defend?

* * *

Rearmament! It is just blazing insanity. Those who cannot band themselves together in mutual amity will find themselves unified in the death-clutches of mutual hatred. Can we learn the lesson at the eleventh hour? Or are the people to perish for want of any other vision than that of raging ideologues?

The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

"THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW"

MARCH 25th, 1938

NOW READY

In POSTER (20in. by 30in.) and LEAFLET (10in. by 8in.)

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION MANIFESTO

The display and distribution of these should be the subject of a specially organized effort in every area

POSTERS - 2d. each
LEAFLETS - 1/- 100, 7/- 1000

ALSO

Two New Leaflets SPECIALLY FOR WOMEN

"A Call to Women to Resist War"

By Mrs. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

1/- per 100, 10/- per 1000 (plus postage)

— AND —

"Six Reasons why Women should Join the P.P.U. Now"

Attractively Produced. 1/- per 100, 10/- per 1000 (plus postage)

TWO GOOD THINGS FOR CHRISTIAN FOLK

who are not quite clear as to their Duty to the State in the matter of Peace and War

"Christian Pacifism & Rearmament" 1 D.
"Conscripting Christianity" per copy

LATEST POSTER

BLACK ON WHITE

20in. by 30in.

2^D. EACH

Reproduced on page one

MOTORISTS

Use the adhesive

UNION JACK CAR LABEL

4½in. by 3½in.

"Patriotism is not enough! Make Britain the Centre of Peace" 6 D. per dozen

ADVERTISE YOUR LOCAL MEETINGS INEXPENSIVELY

By using our attractively worded and produced

POSTERS

with blank space for Speaker, etc.
PRICE ONE PENNY EACH

Bring your

STOCKS

of Leaflets and Posters up to date
and be ready to do your

SHARES

in the intensive propaganda which
must be done this Spring and Summer

USE

PEACE STICKERS ON CORRESPONDENCE

1/- per 100

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE P.P.U.

Agenda and Constitution

FOLLOWING is the final agenda of the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union to be held in Friends House, Euston Road, on April 2 & 3:—

April 2

2 p.m.—Appointment of Chairman.
Appointment of Standing Order Committee.
Welcome by George Lansbury.

2.30 p.m.—Reports.
General Secretary.
Treasurer.
Groups.
Films and Propaganda.
PEACE NEWS.

5 p.m.—Adjourn for Tea.

6.30-8.30 p.m.—Constitution.

Resolutions

I. As several groups have expressed the view that the organization should continue as at present, the meeting will be given the opportunity of showing whether a constitution is generally desired or not in terms of the following:—

"That the meeting proceed to the next business."

If not carried—

II. "That the Constitution as finally agreed at the first annual meeting be regarded as provisional and subject to revision at the next annual general meeting" (Woodford Green and Buckhurst Hill).

The suggested Constitution, with proposed amendments in smaller type, is as follows:—

1. The movement shall be called the Peace Pledge Union.

2. The aim of the Union shall be to secure individual signatories to the pledge, "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another," and to promote the theory and practice of pacifism.

Reverse the order so that Clause 2 runs: "The aim of the Union shall be to promote the theory and practice of pacifism and to secure individual signatories to the pledge 'I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another'" (London, N.W.1, and W.C.1, Leicester, and Upper Norwood).

Delete "promote the theory and practice of pacifism" and add "strive for the removal of the causes of war and for the creation of a world-wide brotherhood founded on the principle of mutual service" (Norwich Group).

Delete "pacifism" and substitute "non-violent resistance to war, preparation for war and all its underlying causes" (Sutton and Four Oaks Group).

Delete "to promote the theory and practice of pacifism" and add "and to promote the practice of pacifism by a vigorous policy of non-violent non-cooperation, resistance to war, and to work for the removal of the causes of war" (Birmingham Council).

Delete the words "and to promote the theory and practice of pacifism" (Jordans and District).

Add: "with a constructive policy towards this end" (Lewisham).

3. Membership shall be open to all signatories of the pledge, irrespective of religious belief or political attachment.

Add: "who express a desire to identify themselves with the Union and to be enrolled as members" (Horsforth Branch).

Substitute for present wording: "All signatories of the Peace Pledge shall be regarded as members of the P.P.U., irrespective of religious beliefs or political attachments" (Barnet Vale Group).

4. Members within any given district may form a group which shall have full autonomy within the policy and principles of the Union.

Add: "The officers of each group shall retire annually and the choice of new officers shall be entirely free" (N.W.1. and W.C.1. Group).

Delete and Substitute: "The branches of the P.P.U. shall be coordinated within Regional areas. The formation of new branches shall be subject to the approval of the respective Regional Committees. Branches shall encourage the formation of groups within their respective areas. Regional Committees shall consist of two members from each branch, and have power to appoint their own officers" (Lewisham).

5. Groups shall be coordinated by regional committees. Such committees shall consist of one member from each group within a specified region, and have power to appoint their own officers.

Substitute: "two members" for "one member" (Sheffield).

Add "and to coopt" (Bristol).

Delete clause 5 (Lewisham).

6. Regions shall be grouped in areas, for each of which there may be an area organizer appointed by the Executive Committee of the Union.

Delete all words after "areas" (East Grinstead).

Add: "in consultation with the area concerned" (Bristol and Lewisham).

7. There shall be an annual meeting of the Union, which shall elect the

following Honorary officers: a President, Sponsors, and a Treasurer; and shall receive the Annual Report of the Council.

To limit the number of Sponsors (Nottingham).

To limit the number of Sponsors to twenty (Norwich).

8. There shall be a Central Council consisting of (a) the Sponsors, (b) twenty members to be elected at the annual meeting of the Union, or on the nomination of any group or any two members of the Union. (c) Not more than six members to be coopted by the Central Council. The Central Council shall normally meet three times a year.

Clause 8 to run: "There shall be a Central Council consisting of twenty members (including the Sponsors) to be elected at the Annual Meeting, etc., etc." (Nottingham Hill).

Clause 8 to run: "The Central Council shall consist of

(a) The Honorary Officers.

(b) One Representative elected by each Region. The Council shall have power to coopt up to, but not exceeding ten percent of its Regional representatives.

The Council shall normally meet three times a year" (Lewisham).

Clause 8 to read: "twenty members to be elected at the annual meeting of the Union on the nomination of any group consisting of at least six members of the Union" (Highams Park).

Add to (b) "No paid officers being eligible for election" (N.W.9 Group).

Add "Nominations for the twenty elected members of the Central Council must reach Headquarters at least 28 days before the annual general meeting of the Union, and be accompanied by brief details of the nominee's service to the cause of peace" (Horsforth).

9. "The Central Council shall elect twelve members of the Union to be an Executive Committee. This Executive Committee shall have power to coopt four additional members. The policy and organization of the Union shall be vested in this Committee, which shall have control of the receipt and expenditure of the Union's funds. The Executive Committee shall normally meet once a month, and shall report to the Central Council.

Add to the first sentence: "a definite proportion of whom shall consist of working members of groups" (N.W.1 and W.C.1 Group).

Substitute: "twelve of its members" for "twelve members of the Union" (East Grinstead, Stoke Newington, Eastbourne, Jordans).

Delete: "The Union's Funds" and substitute "all monies subscribed or allocated to the Central Funds of the Union" (Sheffield).

Delete: "twelve members of the Union" and substitute "not more than twenty-five of their members" (Lewisham).

10. The Executive Committee shall appoint the paid officers of the Union, and fix their terms of service. It shall have power to appoint such sub-committees as it may think fit, and to delegate to these committees the functions and powers of the Executive Committee.

Delete: "and to delegate to these committees the functions and powers of the Executive Committee." and substitute: "These sub-committees shall have no executive power, but shall act in an advisory capacity" (Sheffield).

11. The Executive Committee shall have power to propose rules as and when necessary, subject to the approval of the Central Council.

Add: "and the Annual General Meeting" (Stoke Newington).

12. The agenda of the annual meeting shall be published in the official organ of the Union for two weeks prior to the meeting.

Substitute for 12 the following:

"The preliminary agenda of the annual general meeting shall be published in the official organ of the Union and also sent to group secretaries six weeks prior to the meeting. Resolutions and amendments shall be sent to the National Office not later than three weeks prior to the meeting, and the final agenda shall be published and distributed as above not less than two weeks before the meeting" (Bristol).

"Groups may submit resolutions for the annual general meeting not later than three months prior to the meeting. These shall then be circulated to all groups for consideration and amendment. The final agenda shall be submitted to groups not later than one month before the annual meeting" (Norwich and Lewisham Groups).

For "agenda" substitute "the finally amended agenda" (Sheffield).

13. This Constitution may be altered only by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting at the annual meeting or at an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose.

Delete words "only" and "two thirds" (Lewisham).

14. The Union may be dissolved only by a two-thirds majority of the Central Council, on a resolution submitted for

that purpose, and after such a decision has been ratified by the next general meeting or special meeting called for that purpose.

Delete all words after "majority" and add "of all members present and voting at a general meeting or special meeting duly convened for that purpose" (East Grinstead).

15. Add a new clause:

"That an extraordinary meeting of the Union may be called on the Petition of 200 signatories of the Union" (Lewisham).

III. "That provision shall be made in the Constitution for a Sponsors Committee, having adequate liaison with the Executive Committee, to act as a Committee of Forethought and to consider any special problems referred to it by the Executive" (Cambridge, North).

8.30 p.m.—Elections.

If the Constitution is approved, the general meeting will have to elect a President, Sponsors, Treasurer, and twenty members of the Council. It will be open to any group or any two members to propose names additional to those already circulated at or before the general meeting.

April 3

The morning will be free. A list of churches at which pacifist sermons will be preached will be announced. Arrangements will also be made for a bus tour of London if desired.

2.30-5 p.m.—Policy

The new manifesto and campaign.

The Van Zeeland Report.

Air raid precautions.

General discussion on policy.

Resolution:

Pledge Cards.—That the question: "Do you wish to become a member of the P.P.U.?" be printed on all cards and literature where the Pledge is reproduced for signature (Horsforth).

Finance

Resolution: "That two auditors should be appointed to examine the accounts" (Birmingham and Lewisham).

Budget and Question of Subscriptions

Resolution: "That the Nottingham Scheme of membership and subscriptions be adopted for the whole Union" (Nottingham).

The scheme to be explained by Mr. G. C. Baldwin.

"That all signatories be invited to make a minimum subscription of 1s. per year to Group Funds, and that 25 percent of group subscriptions be sent to Head Office" (Norwich).

5 p.m.—Adjourn for tea.

6-8 p.m.—Informal discussion.

Formation of University Federation (Mr. Symonds, Oxford).

Voting

It is hoped that it will be possible to take the general sense of the meeting on any question without the resort to actual voting. In case, however, it is necessary, to take a formal vote, delegates will be supplied with a green card and isolated members with a white. In order that the views of the groups and isolated members may be fairly assessed, green cards will count as ten votes and white cards as one vote.

MARTIN S. ALLWOOD on the connexion between

PEACE-MAKING and an INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

WITH the rapid growth and development of distance receptors, the cultures of foreign countries, such as Germany and France, have been brought within easier reach of us than many remote parts of England.

This ever-increasing awareness of foreign affinities has greatly aggravated the linguistic chaos of Europe. Every day, the clash between language and language causes loss of time and energy, and often actual misunderstanding.

In response to the interlinguistic need, the dreams and hopes of earlier speculators in peaceful communication took a concrete form.

Esperanto, the international auxiliary language, was created by Dr. Zamenhof, a Polish Jew with high pacifist ideals. International domination by the languages of one or two nations, such as England and France, seemed to have received its death-blow, and international linguistic equality to be established.

But no; under the innocent name of Basic English a new form of linguistic chauvinism has made its appearance, this time under the camouflage of an intricate texture of pseudo-scientific investigation.

English, it is alleged, is already the medium of communication for the greater part of the world. By limiting its vocabulary to 850 words, and supplementing these words with a "simple" set of rules, the inventor, Mr. C. K. Ogden, of Cambridge, claims that this new form of English should be made the officially approved medium of communication for every nation on earth, Indians and Germans alike.

Moreover, Basic English is contrasted and opposed to Esperanto, as if the two were candidates with comparable qualifications for the post of auxiliary linguistic mediums between all nations.

There is no need to criticize in detail Mr. Ogden's arguments so far as international linguistic communication goes, they are mere academic speculation, without any scientific basis whatever, and differ from the usual chauvinistic arguments only in degree of insidious subtlety.

Where Mr. Ogden is concerned with mechanism of language, as distinct from the problem of an international auxiliary language, his work is undoubtedly of a high standing. But that is a different pair of shoes.



Dr. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto

The contrast between Basic English and Esperanto is entirely fictitious. Basic English may be very useful as a first step in the laborious process of learning ordinary English; it can never be anything else. Whether we call it "Basic" or "Anglic," or anything else, English still remains English, i.e., the property of one, clearly defined national community.

"Error is never so difficult to be destroyed as when it has its root in language," said Jeremy Bentham. We pacifists need to consider this, and guard against the subtle but exceedingly powerful violence of imposing our own language upon those who do not want it.

Esperanto, or some similar construction, based on the actual facts before us, is the only language that offers a tangible hope of human understanding on grounds of fairness and equality.

We English will have an opportunity of judging for ourselves the merits of Esperanto at the World Congress in London this summer, when thousands of people from all quarters of the globe will meet and discuss matters in every sphere *sur neutrala lingva fundamento*.

Esperanto is one of the ways of removing international misunderstanding; may all pacifists consider its possibilities

Speaking Personally

WHITHER FASCISM?

1. The Unexpected Happens

THE truth that things are not what they seem invariably takes longer to discover concerning the things which excite our passions. Most of us resent interference with our prejudices.

I am not at all sure that many of my readers will feel kindly disposed toward me for suggesting that some of their fixed notions about fascism may be quite wrong. Most of us, I am afraid, are the slaves of theory and the victims of prejudice. We like to docket things, tuck them neatly away in pigeon-holes, and thus to feel that we have got the world nicely weighed and balanced up. Hence our impatience with people who come along and try to upset our scheme of things by the submission of what they call new evidence.

WE of the Left made up our minds about fascism long ago. We dressed it up in appropriate clothing, settled its fate and thereupon placed it in our mental Tussauds and museums, leaving the hand of time to fulfil our prophecy at leisure.

That is to say, we described fascism as capitalism's final phase, which by reason of despair would be merciless and even cruel. By its means, capitalism would be able to hold the workers in subjection and thus maintain its privileges, for a few more decades. But it would come to an end at last in the bitterest revolution in history.

That fate I am not going to question. But facts have compelled me to change my views of the immediate objectives of fascism. Those facts are of immense significance, and if they are supported by future policy may profoundly affect the course of international events during the next few years.

FROM the first, the view of the Left has been that the label "national socialism" was adopted for advertisement purposes only, and was nothing but a snare to catch the socialists, or the working people who voted socialist. Nationalism there would be in plenty, it was said but socialism none whatever, unless the subjection and regimentation of the workers in the alleged interests of the State be called socialism.

It is now definitely established that that view is not in accordance with the facts, although I am afraid that prejudice, or strong preconceived notions have prevented those facts from being fully appreciated or even recognized by the Left.

For instance, I do not think it is generally realized that the first serious revolt against the Hitler regime came from the Right, and was supported by leading industrialists. What is even more significant is the fact that that support was given as a protest against the growth of socialism, or State interference with the control of finance and industry.

Hitler, it will be remembered, came to power in January, 1933. The first whisperings of revolt began to be heard before the new regime was twelve months old. As I have said, they came from the

WILFRED WELLOCK is the second writer under this heading

Right. According to Evelyn Lend in *The Underground Struggle in Germany*:

The criticism started first in the middle and upper classes . . . Symptoms of the unrest during the first winter and early Spring 1933-34 were: the sharp outbreak of the Church conflict; the friction between the Army General Staff and the Nazi leadership (dismissal of General Hammerstein); Awakening opposition among responsible capitalists . . .

The last named, we are informed by this writer, held a secret meeting in Amsterdam in December, 1933.

THE specific cause of this revolt of the industrialists is not far to seek. Edgar A. Mowrer, in *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, explains it thus:

The rich industrialists whose support had helped Hitler to power soon found themselves elbowed out of the ancient power that went with possession. Just as during the War all nations had had to adopt collective economic policies, so now hysterical nationalism turned the German business system into a new sort of military collectivism, called "defence economics" (Wehrwirtschaft). For integral nationalism demanded socialism . . . because only thus the private interests of all individuals, rich and poor, could be subordinated to the real or presumed interest of the nation.

Further on he says:

In becoming a fascist State Germany had ceased to be capitalist. It had to, to save itself from economic collapse. A socialist State can escape formal bankruptcy. Socialism in Nazi Germany was not the result of any deliberate planning or choice—the Nazis claimed to prefer capitalism—it simply developed logically from extreme nationalism.

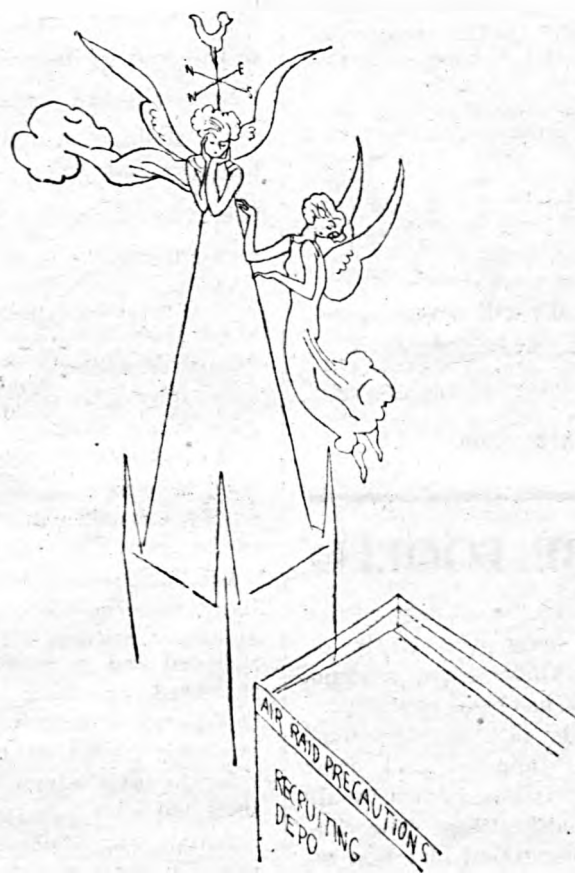
The last passage gives us the clue to the course of events in Germany immediately prior to and after the triumph of Hitler. With the exception of one or two big industrialists, it would appear that German capitalists were hesitant about supporting Hitler, and did not do so in any great strength for some considerable time.

Here is what Edgar Mowrer says on the subject in *Germany Puts the Clock Back*:

In later years the list of alleged financial patrons of the movement became extremely long. Factory owners, managers . . . one of the biggest industrialists of the Ruhr District, Privy Councillor Emil Kirdorf, was frequently mentioned; the Lahusen Brothers, of Bremen; and finally, Fritz Thyssen, that pillar of financial conservatism, who introduced Adolf Hitler to the Industrialists' Club (in January, 1931) as "the saviour of Germany." On another occa-

"Angels Unite"—4

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



"Take themselves seriously, don't they?"

sion Herr Thyssen was reported to have peddled among his friends admission cards to a national socialist political meeting fifty marks a head . . .

The large landowners seem to have discovered the value of Adolf Hitler somewhat later, but a fair number were singled out among his subscribers, including a group of wealthy men in East Prussia. A later list (1932) included several Dukes.

BUT how did it happen that the big industrialists gave their support to Hitler, seeing that his policy was national socialism? There is plenty of evidence to show that they had their doubts, and that they waited a long time before feeling quite safe in backing Hitler. In some cases they were told that the Nazi leaders were very sympathetic to capitalism, and that the term socialism was introduced in order to capture the working-class socialist vote.

Moreover, as Mr. Edgar Mowrer describes, the capitalists, in taking stock of the situation, realized how powerful were the reactionary elements which stood behind Hitler, and concluded that with such a backing it would be impossible for him to travel far from the track of reaction.

At the same time they were greatly disturbed by the declarations, both in print and speech, of the idealists within the movement, and realized the dangers. One Nazi journal propounded that "common profit comes before private profit," while another insisted that the pursuit of the common good demanded that no-one should receive more than £1,000 a year.

On the other hand, Germany's economic situation was becoming

desperate. The world economic collapse of 1930 had had calamitous effects upon the have-not Powers, since they had no empires to fall back upon, and were thus unable to protect themselves as did Great Britain when she closed in her empire, by means of a tariff policy almost revolutionary in character, and the Ottawa Agreements.

Hence increasing numbers of businesses were facing bankruptcy, while the middle classes reared the approach of a second national bankruptcy.

A FINAL incentive to these elements to support Hitler was the spread of communism, which was beginning to assume startling proportions. According to Prof. R. A. Brady:

As early as 1930 almost any business man one might have talked to in Germany would frankly have admitted the eventual success of communism unless recognized trends could be reversed. In the Spring of 1931 an interviewer in the main offices of the great Steel Trust at Dusseldorf, was told by an official spokesman for the industry that the alternative to Hitler and national socialism was "communism to the Rhine by 1935."

So in the end the industrialists took the plunge, although not without considerable misgiving, put their money on Hitler and hoped for the best.

Yet within twelve months of Hitler coming to power they were in revolt. What had happened to cause that revolt is an interesting story, and incidentally a story which bristles with significance for the future not only of Germany, or even of Europe, but of the whole world.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

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I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

March 26, 1938.

DON'T BE FOOLED

THE only effect of the clumsy official attempt to deny the truth of rumours that the Government contemplates conscription has been to shift the emphasis on words so that "conscription" hardly ever appears and even "national service" is toned down by all sorts of vague qualifications. The canvassers of the conscription idea find no difficulty in thus apparently modifying their plea. There are reasons for this—and precedents. Even in the emergency situation of the last war it was found that the word "conscription" was unpopular. So, although there was no intention of abandoning the idea, it was deliberately and even officially called "national service." The reasons that prompted such a step then, hold good today. But there is a better reason for calling the ugly thing by a fairer name—a reason that enables people to do so without feeling they are being dishonest.

It is that "conscription," while it might apply to anything, is almost invariably thought of in connexion with the army or the other fighting Services. The campaign in favour of "national service" is becoming less and less concerned with those Services and more and more concerned with air raid precautions. Not only does *The Times* repeatedly insist on the paramount importance of this aspect of the need for "national service," but, in announcing London's share of the ARP recruiting drive, the *Daily Herald* calls the proposed body of recruits a "civil army" in so many words.

That is just what it is—though how civil it would prove in the face of any resistance to its efforts to regiment the people at home remains to be seen. The new slogan would appear to be, "Join the Arpy and see the world at home."

Naturally, everything else is being tried before compulsion. With the whole thing given an air of respectability by its dissociation from conscription, and therefore from the armed forces (it can, in any case, be given the old nickname of "defence" with more apparent justification than ever), the press which yesterday would not actively support the demand for recruits for the armed forces or the alternative of conscription, today eagerly calls for ARP recruits and the institution of some kind of national service. There is the old stuff about "your King and Country need you" in all but those particular words.

The method of the war years is not confined to the mere sugaring of propaganda, but is being applied to the steps which the propagandists wish us to take. There is now the suggestion, advanced with especial vehemence in letters to *The Times* this week, of a national register of all who might be able to render "national service." The case for it (as in the war days)

THE RESULTS OF VIOLENCE

A FRENCHMAN, soon after the conclusion of the World War, remarked that so accustomed had the men participating in it become to witnessing and inflicting violent death, and so insensitive had the continuous sight of acute human suffering made them, that many of them might be expected on their return to civil life to have recourse to violence almost instinctively.

If a man does not want to pay his tram fare, he instanced, and the conductor is obstinate, he will now probably shoot the conductor and quietly step off the tram.

Where this Frenchman was wrong was in expecting such conduct from ex-Service men. But in his expectation of the growth of violence he was right.

Disillusioned, exhausted, war-weary, there were no more peaceful and law-abiding citizens than ex-soldiers. Stunned and in many cases physically shattered by their experiences, even though not actually wounded, they were generally reluctant to relate or even refer to their adventures or the sights they had seen.

Satiated by violence they had no desire to witness it or participate in it any more.

Nevertheless, violence had been firmly established as an orthodox and approved method of settling international disputes.

While the victors devised throughout the land, with the assistance of the church and the press, all sorts of methods for the glorification of their victory, presenting it as an object lesson and ideal for the youth of the future, the vanquished were taught to regard

seems even sounder than for active service in ARP, since the register would seem to be but a harmless catalogue. But, of course, it is all part of the regimentation of the people for war. And that is the essence—whatever the form—of conscription.

In any case, such a scheme must, if it is to serve its intended purpose, be compulsory. Only one prominent advocate of the idea in the national press specifically proposes that it should be voluntary. He, it is interesting to note, is the Military Correspondent of *The Times*, who, in the same letter to his paper last Friday, denounced the very principle of compulsory service on the ground of "the ultimate effect on the British people, and on all that Britain means, of defending ourselves against totalitarianism by imitating it."

We could not have put the case better for the strongest and most persistent opposition of the peace movement, not merely to conscription (which it needs no encouragement to oppose), but to air raid precautions in general and the present drive for what we have called the Arpy in particular. DR. ALFRED SALTER, MP, told a Bermondsey audience on the day of the PRIME MINISTER'S mysterious reference in Parliament to "national effort," that "a Bill has already been prepared" for some kind of conscription. That is not an alarmist, and probably not an exaggerated statement. For the ARP campaign speaks louder than Government denials, and sooner or later, if allowed to go on, will lead to its own form of conscription, or regimentation. Judging by the PREMIER'S hint in the House, the campaign in the press and in Parliament, and the demand in the first leading article in *The Times* as recently as Wednesday, it may well be that the Government has already prepared a Bill for the compiling of a national register. If the essence of conscription is thus allowed to be introduced, the further steps toward complete regimentation can only be a matter of time.

That is why we say, before it is too late, "Don't be fooled by ARP or anything connected with it."

by



Lord Ponsonby

their defeat as a failure on their part to exercise sufficient violence. This is the usual result of any war.

MEANWHILE a new generation was growing up. In what circumstances?

I have the support of many eminent authorities in saying that as no accurate analysis can be made, insufficient regard has been given to the serious effects of malnutrition on children from babyhood up to the age of about sixteen—serious here and in all other countries but most serious in Germany, against whom a strict blockade was imposed and was continued for six months after the signing of the Armistice.

Add to this the deprivation in a number of families of the father's influence, the inferior makeshift arrangements for teachers in schools, and lastly, but by no means least, the intercourse in the home, which generally speaking has an undefined but immense influence on a child's outlook on life, was confined day in, day out, to one topic and one topic alone—the War.

The result of all this, invisible at the time, became as the years passed more apparent. Perhaps in only a minority of cases was the effect noticeably physical but mentally and psychologically the serious handicaps left their mark more widespread.

We need not dwell on the new circumstances in their environment which they began to notice as they grew up, such as new sex-relationships and the failure of institutional religion. We may simply observe the results in these years of what happened twenty years ago.

REJECTION of tradition may be a healthy sign in youth. But callous insensitiveness leading to the extinction of any instinct of reverence is an undoubted sign of arrested development.

The moral sense becomes blunted and adventure is sought and found easily in outbreaks of violence. It may go so far that political creeds may grow up and systems of government may be established based on violence, the younger sections of the community almost hysterically acquiescing because, in the formative years of their early youth, they seriously suffered from neglect.

The commercials and the press, noticing the growing appreciation of adventure accompanied by violence set to work to record it and advertise it. Extremists in politics gain the advertisement they need by these means.

Atrocities from wars in different parts of the world get full publicity; the gangster film has great popularity. In fact a film in which someone does not shoot or stun someone else is considered tame.

The exploits of cat burglars are followed with admiration of their daring

and, when cowardice and brutality are mixed with the violence, there is gloating over the punishment of savage violence which the "eye for an eye" method of the State inflicts.

We have criminal authors whom we regard with strong sympathy when we have read their books, and the intellectuals come in with the publication of at least half a dozen thrillers a week in which murder is made a fascinating puzzle and all sorts of ingenious descriptions of methods of avoiding detection are presented with attractive literary skill.

Death has no publicity value unless it is accompanied by violence, and the toll of the road is regarded with astonishing indifference.

These symptoms are, of course, confined to a comparatively small minority. Nevertheless it is somewhat alarming that violence should be so popular. While the government of the country is enlisting so large a section of the population to prepare for an orgy of violence such as the world has never seen, perhaps it is not surprising that some who are mentally unbalanced should think that brutal attack for private gain is but a trivial expression of the same spirit.

VIOLENCE, cruelty, and brutality have always existed. Perhaps by comparative and relative statistics it may be found that such occurrences in civil life have decreased, even though instances in wartime have enormously increased.

There can be no question, however, that the tolerance and attention given to the excitement of criminal adventures has in this age of wide publicity greatly increased.

There is some satisfaction in knowing that a large section of the population, far from being impressed, is mortified at being supposed to appreciate murder, rape, violence, and robbery in whatever attractive guise they may be presented to it.

Better still, there is a preponderating section of younger people who suffered less from neglect, being too young or too old, who are clearly showing that the path they have chosen is not along those lines but that their efforts will be devoted to an endeavour to establish a nobler order in which the evil of violence will have no place.

An Early Non-Violent Non-Cooperator

(This was printed and distributed as a leaflet in England during the War. It was extracted from *Expositors of Holy Scripture*, by Dr. Alexander MacLaren, the great Baptist preacher and writer, and refers to the fifth chapter of *Nehemiah*.)

NEHEMIAH would not conform. And unless you can say "No!" and do it very often, your life will be shattered from the beginning. That non-compliance with customary maxims and practices is the beginning, or at least one of the foundation stones of all nobleness and strength, of all blessedness and power.

It is so easy to do as others do, partly because of laziness, partly because of cowardice, partly because of instinctive imitation which is in us all.

Men are gregarious. One great teacher has drawn an illustration from a flock of sheep, and says that if we hold up a stick, and the first of the flock jumps over it, and then we take away the stick all the rest of the flock will jump when they come to the point where the first did so. A great many of us adopt our creeds, and opinions. . . . It saves a great deal of trouble and it gratifies a certain strange instinct that is in us all, and it avoids dangers and conflicts that we should, when we are at Rome, do as the Romans do. "So did not I, because of the fear of God."

There is no tyranny like the tyranny of a majority in a democratic country like ours. It is quite as harsh as the old-fashioned despots. Unless you resolve steadfastly to see with your own eyes, to use your own brains, to stand on your own feet, to be a voice and not an echo, you will be helplessly enslaved by the fashion of the hour and the opinions that prevail.

A GERMAN'S WAY TO DEAL WITH NAZIS

Dictatorship a Danger Despite People's Desire for Peace

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

I WANT to reply to your question (in last week's issue) whether Germany is being misrepresented in the British press.

I lived for more than thirty years in Germany, as a German citizen. I am of Jewish extraction. My ancestors lived in Germany since 1753 as German citizens.

Since 1918 I have taken an active part in the German and international pacifist movements and in the socialist movement.

Since 1925 I have been living in England and became a naturalized British subject. I am personally known to many leading members of the Peace Pledge Union who will vouch for the veracity of my statements.

I have relatives, Jewish and non-Jewish, in all parts of Germany. I have pacifist and socialist friends in all parts of the country, and I have, of course, all my ordinary friends and acquaintances.

My contacts are not broken, and a stream of information flows continuously into my house.

Owing to the fact that many members of my family are still living in Germany I have hesitated, so far, to write to the English press. I feel, however, the tremendous danger to the cause of international peace if well-meaning British pacifists continue to allow themselves to be blinded to the truth.

PRESS REPORTS

As a whole the British press has given and is giving a truthful account of conditions in Germany and Austria, not only as regards the official policy of Germany, but also as regards the behaviour of the people. Owing to the existing suppression of public opinion the actual attitude of mind of the people is, of course, difficult for a paper to ascertain.

In my own small circle every single incident reported of atrocities in Germany has come true. I have had, at my house, friends who have gone through the horrors of concentration camp, Brown Houses, cross-examination, &c., and who just survived, whilst many saw the death of others—for no other reason than former pacifist or socialist activities, or because they were Jews.

The laws which have made the 500,000 Jews of Germany, to whom now are added 250,000 Austrian Jews, as well as the 3,000,000 half or quarter Jews, into "untouchables" are in full operation. Did Mr. Dennis Frith inquire after the fate of Dr. Niemöller and of his 500 or more fellow-sufferers amongst the Protestant clergy, one of whom "committed suicide"?

POLICY FOR PACIFISTS

All this is said, not to discredit the German people, who are as kindly and pacific as any other race under the sun, but to impress upon English pacifists the truth that, under a dictatorship, a great and well-meaning people can be turned into an instrument for horrors greater than the horrors of war.

I would like to end with an appeal to your leaders, with some of whom I have had the honour of cooperating in the past, to:

1. Realize that dictatorship is warfare of the worst kind, in permanence, and directed against one's own people as well as against abroad; that it kills the mind before killing the body, and thus perpetuates the horror from generation to generation;

2. Abstain from moves which look to non-English pacifists as an attempt at fraternizing with dictators;

3. Join with all British and USA peace organizations in an attempt at working out a policy allowing us to reach the people under the dictatorships, not their leaders who are carrying out their programmes regardless of what British pacifists say to them; and



The High, centre of university life in Oxford—one of the places where pacifist influence is steadily growing

PACIFISM GROWING IN UNIVERSITIES

A National Federation the Next Step?

By Our Own Correspondent, RICHARD SYMONDS

NOT the least important result of the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union in Friends House, London, next weekend will, it is hoped, be the formation of a university pacifist federation.

Dick Sheppard's election as Lord Rector of Glasgow University last autumn was a reminder that the Oxford Union's resolution that "this House will not fight for King and Country" was not so peculiar as the conservative press imagined.

Glasgow pacifist undergraduates are exceptionally fortunate to have had such an opportunity of showing their strength.

But pacifist groups have been growing up quietly in most of the British universities in the past two years.

The Oxford University Pacifist Association, founded eighteen months ago, last term increased its membership from 167 to 218. The corresponding Cambridge society, a group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has about the same membership. Liverpool, Manchester, Durham, and, of course, Glasgow, are keen.

But it is the growth of pacifism in the smaller universities and colleges which is most encouraging of all—particularly in four or five London training colleges. New groups were started last term in Aberystwyth and in Exeter.

SUMMER SPEAKING TOUR

In all, fourteen university and college groups are known to be in existence and clearly it is time to examine the peculiar functions of university pacifists.

The PPU is anxious to extend the experiment made last July of a summer speaking tour run by students.

More important, as I see it, is the possibility of specialized study of those problems, philosophic, economic, or purely physical, which a pacifist is called upon to face. An annual conference of university pacifists, on the lines of that held by the British Universities League of Nations Society, could do valuable work.

These are only personal suggestions.

Canon Stuart Morris has put "proposed university federation" at the end of the agenda for the annual general meeting of the PPU, and students will have the use of a separate room for their deliberations, which Max Plowman and/or Canon Morris will attend.

If the federation is ever to be launched this is the time for it. It is hoped that as many university pacifists as possible will attend, either to criticize the federation out of existence, or to help to nurse it to success by their advice.

4. Work out a policy, on the lines suggested by Leyton Richards, to be submitted to democratic governments as the basis of a conference open to all States who wish to join it, a programme of international justice which should be carried out, not by agreement, but by example.

WAR RESISTER.

Penitence for Entry into War

NEW YORK will observe the 21st anniversary of America's entry into the Great War with penitence and atonement, according to the March issue of the *New York War Resister*.

War resisters have decided to dedicate April 5 to the honour of conscientious objectors, "those patriots who tried to save their countrymen from mass suicide in 1917 and got more than the usual thanks."

Woman's Peace Tour of South America

An American woman, Mrs. Burton W. Musser, has traveled by air to 21 South American cities and towns on behalf of a committee of the People's Mandate to Governments to End War.

Before starting on her mission, which began at Miami and ended in Texas, she saw President Roosevelt.

Mrs. Musser is the wife of a lawyer in Utah, and speaks Spanish, Portuguese, German, French, and Italian. She was the only American woman delegate to the Pan-American Peace Conference held in Buenos Aires.

PALESTINE COMMUNITIES

The growth of the communal settlements of Palestine is an interesting study in spontaneous and successful community living which has happened within the past few years.

Maurice Pearlman, who has lived with these communities and has recently written a book about them, has agreed to give a descriptive talk about them at Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bow, E.3, at 8.0 p.m. on April 1. All group members and friends are invited to hear this informative sketch of a social experiment with real significance. There will be opportunity after the talk for questions and discussion.

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Woman's Point Of View

PROBLEMS OF CHILD EDUCATION

THE *Labour Woman* for March prints a message from a women's organization in Sweden which among its suggestions for the building of peace, says:—

Secure that all parents and teachers, and in particular the mothers, inculcate in the children such an outlook that they understand the necessity for international cooperation and brotherhood.

In this connexion I have received a letter from a woman reader which puts before us the problems and difficulties that this ideal raises.

"As a mother and ex-teacher," she writes, "I realize that women have a great influence on the attitude of children toward peace and war. It is obvious, too, that our treatment of the children and their misdemeanours determines to a great extent how they will act toward those they consider to have ill-treated them.

"Our own children mix with others at school, and then come home with an ardent desire to play at soldiers, use guns and bayonets and generally behave in a warlike manner. This stage I believe to be natural to children, yet should I let them realize what is behind the symbol of the gun and the soldier?"

"So far, I've not actually forbidden them to do those things, because it may make them desirable. Usually other occupations have been suggested, such as drumming and playing at horses.

"The problem of telling the boy what to do when he has been hit has not arisen. Once our lad had a toy knocked out of his hand by a bigger boy, and he merely said, 'Don't do it again'."

Nursery Rhymes for Modern Times



Drawn by Audrey Wynn

I.
There was a crooked man
Who had a crooked brain,
And made his crooked weapons
To give a crooked pain.

He made much crooked money,
Through helping crooked wars,
And calmed his crooked conscience
By keeping crooked laws.

II.
Jack and Jill,
They would not kill
Or join in wholesale slaughter,
They went to quod—
A firing squad
Followed quickly after.

"Can other mothers say what they have done to pull their children through this pugnacious stage?"

THE first point I should like to make is in answer to the question: Should I let them realize what is behind the symbol of the gun and soldier?

Education, as Bertrand Russell says, consists in the cultivation of instincts and not in their suppression. The child's instinct for power is behind the playing at soldiers, and this will to power must not be suppressed but directed.

Do not confuse the ideas in your own mind with those of the child's mind. To you the gun and the soldier recall the cruelty and barbarity of war. They have no such association for the child.

A child playing soldiers calls to your mind the man who has no outlet for his will to power except fighting. To quote Russell again:

The secret of instruction in so far as it bears upon character, is to give a man such kinds of skill as shall lead to his employing his instincts usefully.

Do not forbid these games. Not because by forbidding you will make them desirable, but because you will be forbidding them for your own sake, because of the disagreeable associations soldier, gun, and bayonet have for you.

The child must be free to live out these interests.

A S. Neill, in his book *The Problem Child*, stresses strongly that there is no case whatever for the moral instruction of children. The child is interested mainly in himself. He has no sense of duty and no social sense.

Russell agrees: It is useless to obtrude moral ideas at an age at which they can evoke no response, and at which they are not required for the control of behaviour. The only effect is boredom, and imperviousness to those same ideas at the later age when they might have become potent.

AT a study circle the other day a mother was concerned with the cruelty of her small boy who delighted to torment flies. She had expressed much horror and disapproval. I suggested that she probably got considerable satisfaction herself when she pursued flies with her poisonous spray.

We must not numbug ourselves. We hate in others what we hate in ourselves, and others include our children.

I have heard many parents discussing the need for the psycho-analysis of their children. Usually it is the parent who is in desperate need of such aid. Most difficult children would be cured if both their parents submitted themselves to a psycho-analysis.

The child should not in normal cases, be introduced to the confused world of symbolism. The parent or teacher should be able to understand the child's symbolism, but it is not necessary or wise that the child should realize that his symbolism is being interpreted.

The surest way to get rid of thoughtless cruelty in children is to develop their interest in growth. Let the child have insects, plants, and animals to look after. An interest in living and growing is more likely to stop thoughtless cruelty than the expression of shocked disapproval.

Parents and teachers should never be shocked. If their own upbringing had been ideal they would not be; so if, owing to faults in their own make-up, they are shocked they must not show it.

THE most important sentence in the letter I have quoted is: "Our treatment of the children and their misdemeanours determines to a great extent how they will act toward those they

The BBC's "Way of Peace" Broadcasts

by NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

THE SCENE TODAY

IT is by now a foregone conclusion that any talk in this series, with the notable exception of Dr. Salter's, will end up with the conclusion that the right course for this country is an alliance with France, Russia and the USA.

The method by which the two speakers last Thursday arrived at this conclusion was an ingenious example of the wish fathering the thought. Having decided that an alliance with the satisfied powers was expedient for this country, they set about finding an adequate reason for its also being morally right.

Being economists, they naturally sought their reason in terms of trade. "There is no reasonable doubt," said Mr. Condliffe, "that the strangling of international trade has led and is still leading to a progressive impoverishment of the countries where guns are preferred to butter. There can be no solid basis for international agreement unless these policies (of internal economy) are reversed."

This is an opinion which has been put forward time and time again on pacifist platforms and was indeed the basis of Dr. Salter's argument in his talk on pacifism in this series. Yet Mr. Condliffe uses it as an argument for abjuring trade with the dictatorships and making

of the democratic countries a closed economic unit.

It is almost incredible. Are we to believe that the people of Germany and Italy have chosen a butterless diet in order to annoy the people of England and France? Has Mr. Condliffe forgotten that there was a time when Germany was not a dictatorship?

Long before Hitler came to power, the "strangling of international trade" was leading to the progressive impoverishment of the people of Germany. And it was those very democracies which Mr. Condliffe places on a moral pedestal who were doing the strangling.

"If you could have given me some concession," said Stresemann, "I could have won this generation of Germans for peace; that you could not or you would not have been my tragedy and your crime." To perpetuate that crime is to bring on our heads the inevitable nemesis of war.

And if that war comes, who will be the culprit? A famous jurist has said, "Although in law the aggressor is the culprit, in justice the culpability of the defender may be no less if he has refused to the aggressor all reasonable consideration of wrongs deeply felt and of demands, even if only partly legitimate."

The Thames and the Rhine

This poem was first published in 1915 by the *Daily Herald*:—

Two babes were born one happy morn,
They came with love divine;
And a mother smiled by the River Thames,
And a mother smiled by the Rhine.

But one sad day, so people say,
Their rulers tried to shine,
And one lad heard the call by the Thames,
And the other a call by the Rhine.

These children grew so brave and true,
Each mother said "How fine!"
And hearts were glad by the River Thames,
And hearts were glad by the Rhine.

These two brave sons, they raised their guns,
As they marched in marshalled line,
And hearts were sad by the River Thames,
And hearts were sad by the Rhine.

(Continued from col. 2.)
consider to have ill-treated them."
The child must be free.
FREEDOM The child must not fear
ESSENTIAL us and accept our values.
Our attitude must not be that of a god, not even a loving god. No matter what your own ideals are, they are not good enough for the child. "Ists" and "isms" are not for the child.

The granting of freedom to the child may have the happy result of abolishing reformations. There will be nothing in themselves to reform.

At this point it is important to make clear the difference between individual freedom and social freedom. In his book about his school at Summerhill, Neill gives an illustration of this:

Anyone who allows a child to get all its own way is a dangerous person. Social freedom no one can have, for the rights of others must be respected.

Individual freedom everyone should have. No one has the right to make a boy learn Latin, but if in a Latin class a boy insists on fooling all the time, the class should throw him out, because he is interfering with the freedom of others.

This brings up the importance of the child being among children. The child at home has not got the chance of learning to live in a community. You cannot teach justice to an only child.

M. S.

They took their sight in the bitter fight,
Their aim was really fine,
And a mother sighed by the River Thames,
And a mother sighed by the Rhine.

These two brave sons fell by their guns,
Their names in glory shine,
And a mother wept by the River Thames,
And a mother wept by the Rhine.

So the Thames so fine and the River Rhine,
Flow into the same great sea,
And they seem to say as they kiss the spray:

"If men were as wise as we!"

FRED EASTON.

WHIRLIGIG

by

Percival Gull

LATE NEWS

THIS column has annoyed some people. So far, protests have been received from two Bishops, one Archdeacon, three Deans, five parsons, four curates, two sidesmen, four churchwardens, three lay-preachers, one organist and seventeen choirboys. No letters have yet been received from Lieutenant Gadd-Sire or Lady Tickwort.

Actually, making people laugh is a hard job. Mr. Senkinblop, a taxidermist living in Borneo, has sent me the following list of names of those whom he considers to be the world's really great humorists:—

Rabelais, Cervantes, Boccaccio, Congreve, Sterne, and Neville Chamberlain.

AS IT IS

THE Editor has hereafter forbidden me to use the following words in this column:—

Crank, cabbage, sausage, gin, tummy, beer, whisky, vivisection, and policeman.

AS IT IS AGAIN

THE writers of humorous newspaper columns have now formed themselves into a society called The Bounders' Collective Security League. They have purchased an aeroplane and spend each evening flying over the countryside bombing the houses of their critics. Instead of bombs, volumes of Schopenhauer, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Debreit's Peerage, and The Cranks' Handbook are used.

One gentleman, who lives in a villa at Wimbledon, had his house demolished with a well-aimed volume of Freud. Not content with this, we came back again and again, showering it with pacifist pamphlets, until finally it was set on fire.

TOSSING THE CAT

THE news that the ceremony of tossing the cat is to be revived in Belgium prompts me to reminiscence. "Tossing the cat" is an ancient custom. It consists of throwing the stuffed effigy of a cat from the balcony of Bruges Cathedral.

Years ago, when I lived in Shropshire, a similar piece of pageantry was enacted every Pancake Day. The whole village turned out to witness it. An effigy of the local MFH, stuffed with straw and feathers, was pitched from the chimney-stack of the local manor, to be fought for by the assembled onlookers.

It was nothing to hear well-known sportsmen barking like dogs. They often bit one another. On one occasion, when somebody shouted "Yoicks!" they all lifted up their heads, sniffed loudly and went streaming over the fields, every one of them making a noise like a trumpet.

DRAMA DEPT.

"BOOM in Recruiting." This headline in the *Sunday Times* has inspired me to write a play. As soon as I noticed it I donned the velvet shirt which I keep specially for meetings of the Hampstead Lyric Club, the green tie which I reserve for Bloomsbury socials and the corduroy jacket which I reserve as a treat for my friends. I clawed my hair over my forehead and filled my meerschaum pipe. Then I began serious work.

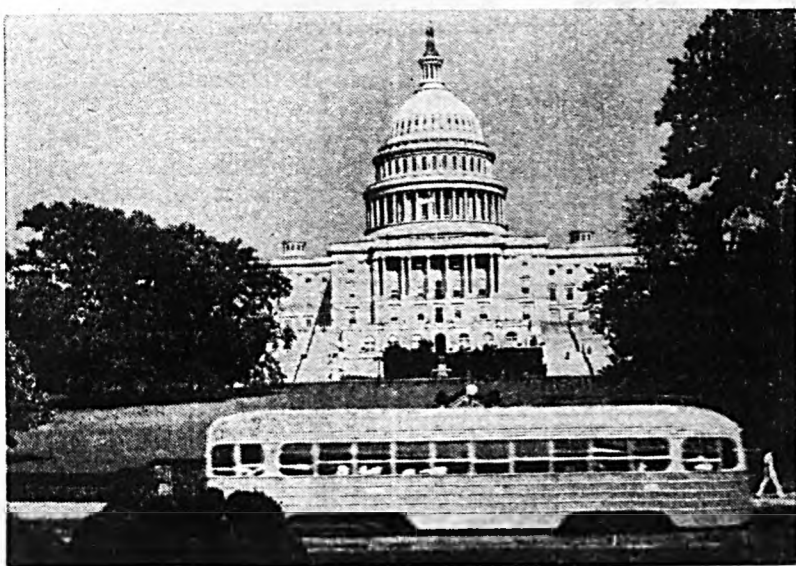
The scene is a Blasted Heath, and the only occupants of the stage are two recruits and a regiment of cavalry. The recruits are facing one another. They look annoyed, and both carry imitation guns. They point these at one another.

First Recruit: Boom!

Second Recruit: Boom! boom!

The First Recruit then falls down. The regiment of cavalry, wheeling about, prick spurs to their mounts and gallop madly away on their snow-white rocking-horses. The curtain falls, amid general hubbub and confusion.

Sent by a Reader



THE HOME OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

This photograph of the Capitol in Washington was taken by a reader while in the United States.

Let us have your picture for PEACE NEWS.

WHO'S in the NEWS

THERE is need for the PPU to give its members a sense of fellowship, so that if war should ever break out they will not feel isolated and alone.

For all over the country there are pacifists of whom we never hear, of whom most of us know absolutely nothing.

They live in some quiet backwater, cut off from the main body as completely as though they were living in Siam.

Last week the writer promised to find some of them. In future, he will try each week to tell you something about a pacifist who is entitled to be called news simply because most pacifists have never heard of him.

HE KNOWS FROM EXPERIENCE

THIS week it is Mr. L. S. Lee. He is a Londoner, born in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1907, who was living in the City all through the Great War and missed only one air raid.

Mr. Lee's views on the subject of ARP are quite definite:

"As a child I witnessed the appalling slaughter of civilians in what were reckoned to be good air-raid shelters. If modern high explosives are used—and they will be—nothing but shelters 500 feet deep can be adequate."

He was educated at Christ's Hospital School. At the age of seven he began studying music. Nowadays, besides singing at St. Augustine's Church, Queen's Gate, Mr. Lee is a member of the Grosvenor Singers, a well-known male quartet.

Married, with two children, he finds very little time for active work as a pacifist, but he is nevertheless one of us.

He lives at Bexley, and if any enthusiastic group leader tries to track him down, he mustn't blame me if he catches Mr. Lee in his shirt-sleeves, warbling scales and exercises!

PRIVATE RADIO STATIONS

THIS week, on page fourteen, we reprint extracts from "Education for World Citizenship," a prize essay written by Ian Keith Mackay.

Ian Keith Mackay is a New Zealander, and the paper from which extracts are taken took a Continental prize for Australia and New Zealand.

Twenty-eight years of age, Mackay was educated at Nelson College. His first job was a tailor-out in a sawmill.

After a period of clerical work he became Chief Clerk of the City Engineer's Department, in Nelson. Then, with a growing interest in radio, he helped in the formation of a Federation of Private Broadcasting Stations, resigned from the Nelson City Council and threw the weight of his Federation into a brisk election campaign.

He organized trade unions and represented various workers' organizations in court.

After a break of twelve months, he went back to radio again, and now holds a position in the National Commercial Broadcasting Service.

TOO BUSY FOR HOBBIES

TURN to *Who's Who*, and you will find that the hobbies of our Lobby Correspondent are "motor-cycling and gardening." Actually, one doubts whether James Hudson finds much time for either.

He began his career as a schoolteacher. Then he turned his attention to politics. In 1924, and again from 1929 to 1931, he was Parliamentary Private Secretary to Lord Snowden, when Snowden was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He is chairman of the Conventions Committee of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, and since 1932 has been Directing Secretary of the Workers' Temperance League.

A LINGUIST'S AMBITION

ON page 6 you will find an article by Martin S. Allwood.

Martin S. Allwood has this advantage over most of us, that he was born in what many people reckon to be the most highly civilized country in Europe—Sweden. He was educated at Jönköping Public School.

Afterwards he came to England. He studied English and psychology at Fitz-William House, Cambridge. Altogether nowadays he speaks six languages: Swedish, Norwegian, French, German, Esperanto—and English!

"My one ambition," says Martin Allwood, "is to see a strong, united Europe, cooperating in peace and good fellowship with the other continents." He joined the PPU in 1936 and is a member of the FoR.

His hobbies are skiing and swimming; and table-tennis, for which he has represented Cambridge against Oxford.

GEOGRAPHY AFFECTS HISTORY

DR. Ruth von Schulze-Gävernitz is shortly to deliver a lecture at Friends House.

Dr. Ruth v. Schulze-Gävernitz is the daughter of a professor at Freiburg. She studied history and philosophy at Heidelberg, where she took her Doctor's Degree in 1928.

Her main study has been how the idea of the unity of mankind has been influenced by geographical conceptions in its growth, and how this idea has influenced the various political attempts to bring about a world-wide government.

She was a teacher in Constantinople for some time. Then, for a number of years, she was a lecturer at the Berlin Volkshochschule. She also lectured in the Trades Union School and in academic circles.

Between 1918 and 1933, in Berlin, Dr. v. Schulze-Gävernitz was in close touch with the many political and educational movements from which a down-trodden Germany drew its nourishment prior to the advent of Herr Hitler.

How to Meet Aggression Today

—A True Story

WHEN HUNGARY WENT ON STRIKE

THE Emperor Franz Josef was trying to subordinate Hungary to the Austrian power, contrary to the terms of the old treaty of union between the two countries. The Hungarian moderates felt helpless, as they were too weak to fight.

But Francis Deak, a Catholic land-owner of Hungary, protested to them: "Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed! Woe to the nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed."

Deak proceeded to organize a scheme for independent Hungarian education, agriculture, and industry, a refusal to recognize the Austrian Government in any way, and a boycott against Austrian goods. He admonished the people not to be betrayed into acts of violence, nor to abandon the ground of legality.

"This is the safe ground," he said, "on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force. If suffering must be necessary, suffer with dignity."

This advice was obeyed throughout Hungary.

When the Austrian tax collector came, the people did not beat him or even hoot at him—they merely declined to pay. The Austrian police then seized their goods, but no Hungarian auctioneer would sell them.

When an Austrian auctioneer was brought, he found that he would have to bring bidders from Austria to buy the goods. The government soon found that it was costing more to distrain the property than the tax was worth.

The Austrians attempted to billet their soldiers upon the Hungarians. The Hungarians did not actively resist the order, but the Austrian soldiers, after trying to live in houses where everyone despised them, protested strongly against it.

The Austrian Government declared the boycott of Austrian goods illegal, but the Hungarians defied the decree. The jails were filled to overflowing. No representatives from Hungary would sit in the Imperial Parliament.

The Austrians then tried conciliation. The prisoners were released and partial self-government given. But Hungary insisted upon the full claims.

In reply, Emperor Franz Josef decreed compulsory military service. The Hungarians answered that they would refuse to obey it. Finally, on February 18, 1867, the Emperor capitulated and gave Hungary her constitution.

(Richard B. Gregg, in *The Power of Non-Violence*. Routledge, 5s.)



... and God created man after his own image.

—Wolne Zarty, Warsaw.

NEW BOOKS

A VICTIM OF NAZI MYTH

Germany and World Peace. By Sven Hedin. Translated from the German by Gerald Griffin. Hutchinson. 15s.

Reviewed by Harold F. Bing

I DO NOT know what the title of this book was in German, but the English title is certainly a misnomer. There is very little indeed in it about world peace, a good deal about world war—both the last war and the next—and much about the wonderful progress of Germany under Hitler. "In Praise of National Socialism" would be a truer title.

Sven Hedin, a Swede by nationality, has spent most of his life exploring in Central Asia, and the attitude of the traveller is evident in this book. He boasts of the number of thousands of miles he travelled in Germany in the course of a few months, in which he was collecting information for this book, the number of lectures he delivered, and official dinners and receptions he attended.

It is evident that his sources of information are entirely official and he believes everything, or almost everything, he is told. He has some reservations on the Jewish question, being partly of Jewish extraction himself. But with one or two exceptions, such as the press-censorship and the Nazi attitude to science, he is enthusiastic about everything he sees and particularly about the revival of Germany's military power.

Such statements as: that the Nazi revolution was carried out without force and bloodshed, that the German State no longer interferes in church matters, that the SA and SS are unarmed, that "the distinction between worker and employer and their mutual antagonism have been completely eliminated," indicate the extent to which he has swallowed the Nazi myth. His own lack of political insight is shown by such statements, occurring in the same chapter, as "we see socialism in actual operation" and "private property is still inviolate and secure."

Admiring the success of the German Anti-Waste Campaign, he commends it to his own country, saying that if Sweden were as successful in a similar campaign, it would have "enough money accruing from it to equip a splendid air force and to put our ground fortifications in such an excellent state of defence that they could defy the armaments of the greatest powers in the world." This is characteristic of his attitude.

Nevertheless, allowing for this obvious bias, the book is worth reading as a statement from official sources of what Nazi Germany is trying to do, and how she is trying to do it. On such matters as land reclamation other countries might learn much from the German effort.

At the beginning of the book Sven Hedin gives vivid eye-witness accounts of the battles of Jutland and Verdun in order to show the futility of modern war. In the last chapter he demands the return to Germany of her former colonies under threat of a far more terrible war which, as he says, would annihilate European civilization.

ONLY A GUN

The Chosen Instrument. By Norman Macmillan. John Lane, The Bodley Head. 5s.

Captain Macmillan, who is aeronautical correspondent to the Rothermere newspapers, has written an elementary study in the strategy and tactics of aerial warfare. To the pacifist, his conclusions are less interesting than the premises from which they spring.

Captain Macmillan is under no illu-

sions as to the nature of modern aerial warfare. Indeed, the greater part of his book is taken up by an able and informed exposition of the implications inherent in the use of "the chosen instrument," the long-range bomber.

The author accepts the fact that aerial defence today necessitates the bombing of civilian populations, the destruction of open towns, and the peacetime organization of the entire population in preparation of wartime regimentation. He goes further. He is apparently prepared to justify such measures upon moral grounds.

Accepting as an axiom that war is or can be justified in itself, he argues:

that the bombing aeroplane is simply a long-range gun, able to transport projectiles over hundreds of miles instead of hundreds of yards—and is therefore neither more nor less humane than the rifle, the machine-gun, the gun, or the submarine.

Such an argument, of course, overlooks the fact that the weapons mentioned are all capable of being accurately aimed at specific targets, and therefore can be confined to military objectives. The bomber, flying at great heights, and assailed by fighters, anti-aircraft guns and searchlights, can only aim its bombs within very wide limits, and cannot, under any circumstances, limit its attack to military objectives.

Captain Macmillan, however, denies the desirability of limiting warfare to military objectives.

If war had not been so coldly professional, if the politicians, the lawyers, and the merchants had had to take the front line . . . in the past, there would be less of this craven fear of the aeroplane, and there would be far less risk of war stalking the world once more.

The Great War was by far the least professional war that has ever been waged; the front line was actually filled with conscripted politicians, lawyers and merchants. Yet the historical results have been far more disastrous than those following previous war conducted purely by professionals.

Today, when "politician, lawyer, merchant, their wives and children are all on the same footing as the soldier, sailor and airman," the results are likely to prove even more disastrous, and the professional tactics of bombing raids on the civilians of the enemy are not likely to render them less so.

PHILIP F. DYER.

RAW MATERIAL IN PEACE AND WAR

The International Distribution of Raw Materials. By Herman Kranold. Routledge. 15s.

In this book Mr. Kranold has assembled the available data concerning the world production, values, imports and exports, of all the more important raw materials during the period of the last trade cycle.

He has attempted and achieved, within the limits of the material available, the difficult task of reducing national statistics to a common measure; but his most interesting and novel tables are those in which he attempts to assess the relative raw material wealth of fifteen countries. The results of this analysis contribute some interesting points in the discussion about "haves" and "have-nots."

Of the fifteen countries in the table, Italy is shown to hold the medium position with Germany and Great Britain immediately above her. Perhaps the most surprising result is that France occupies the halfway position between China as the poorest, and Italy as the medium.

Since Mr. Kranold compiled his tables the frontiers of Europe have been changed; it is a pity that Austria was not among his original list of fifteen, or we might have seen what economic advantages were likely to accrue to Germany in the realm of raw materials.

Mr. Kranold is a realist in that he states that in this age of flight from reason, governments do not act rationally in getting the most out of their available raw materials, but carry on

the greater part of economic activity with one eye on a hypothetical war situation. In this he goes further than the recently published reports of M. Van Zeeland, and the League of Nations, which both analyze the present restrictions on international trade, but fail to get behind them to the psychology which makes them operative.

Having analyzed the resources of the larger countries in terms of war conditions, Mr. Kranold immediately attacks the validity of his whole argument by saying that it bears no relation to an actual war situation. This may be true in one set of circumstances, but the argument is not necessarily invalidated if a nation manages to conduct a war entirely outside its own frontiers, while some form of economic sanctions are practised by non-combatant nations.

It would be interesting to work out the possibilities of alliances of groups of nations on this basis, and also to apply the same kind of analysis to the period before 1914, if the necessary statistics are available.

The book is written in readable language, free from many of the economic terms which often make technical books unpalatable to the layman; in places it displays a dry sense of humour and on page 184 changes Mr. Richardson into Mr. Robinson in the space of ten lines. There is also a useful bibliography, which, while not exhaustive, covers most aspects of a question which is well to the front at the present time.

M. GOODFELLOW.

VOLUNTARY WORK IN SOCIAL SERVICE

A Citizen's Guide to Social Service. J. Q. Henriques. George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. The citizen is guided in detail through the mazes of unemployment relief, much less adequately, though always accurately, through housing, health insurance and organized leisure, while other aspects of social service remain untouched. But before he starts on the journey, his mind is made up for him in the principles that should govern social service; the lesson is pressed home during the journey, and toward the end he undergoes another course of instruction in what the author unhesitatingly regards as sound principles.

This would not matter if there were signs of any recognition that social problems are problems, in the principles to be applied to their solution as well as in the facts that they present. As it is, the whole argument rests upon the assumption that "the function of the public services ought primarily to be to help to fill in the gaps that voluntary effort is incapable of filling," while John Citizen is not allowed so much as a glance at views which would invert this relationship.

Two mental pictures are built up: of indefinitely flexible voluntary societies on the one hand, and "determinate groove" public machinery on the other, without regard to the range of method covered by such concepts, and with a saddening failure to recognize that the value of the work done depends not only on the voluntary or involuntary character of the machinery, but also upon the quality and training of those who operate the machinery.

Mr. Henriques shows a genuine appreciation of the infinite variety of human need and character; he emphasizes again and again the need to treat people in distress as whole personalities. But he manifests no awareness of poverty as a series of social, as well as personal, diseases to be diagnosed and treated in the light of experience gained alike by voluntary and public bodies. For example, he is much impressed by the bug-bear of "dependency," but does little to advance our knowledge of that obscure complaint and its treatment.

The book suffers from lack of a bibliography. It should be read in conjunction with the invaluable Report on the Social Services recently published by Political and Economic Planning, the thorough analytic survey of the latter complementing Mr. Henriques' wide experience of the individual aspects of social service.

EILEEN YOUNGHUSBAND.

FOR YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

Earlier Books Recalled by Patrick Richards

MARS HIS IDIOT. By H. M. Tomlinson. Heinemann. 5s.
An exceptionally brilliant exposure of the stupidity of war and imperialism, and of the insanity of preparing arms for defence, this book is particularly valuable for an acute analysis of how pre-war statesmen sought security, not peace, and consequently found war.

WHAT IS "HUMAN NATURE"?

Other Men's Lives. By Sir George Dunbar. Nicholson and Watson. 10s. 6d. Illustrated.

One expects reminiscences, or a collection of diverse autobiographies on the lines of recent BBC talks. This book, however, gives the story of prehistoric man in general, and studies in the lives of three types of primitive man in particular.

In the first part of the book Sir George Dunbar tells very simply how prehistoric man lived, hunted, learned to cultivate crops, to make rudimentary tools, and gradually through the application of reason, to gain control over his environment to a moderate extent; while at the same time he began to speculate on life and death and attempted to express himself by drawing and the decoration of household utensils and his own person. This account combines the accuracy of the school text book with the vividness of an eye-witness story and creates an interest for the second part of the book.

In the second part we leave archaeology for anthropology, and are given accounts of the life and customs of three types of primitive man: the now extinct Tasmanian, the rapidly disappearing North American Indian, and the tribes living on the Tibetan border in the Highlands between Tibet and Assam, who are almost uncontaminated by contact with civilization, whether Western or Eastern.

For the most part the author gives a summary of the conclusions and findings of scholars, either travellers or scientific field-workers among primitive tribes. While this is admirably done, the study of the Tibetan border tribes, which is the result of his own experience of life among them for four years, is undoubtedly the most interesting portion of the book.

The author scarcely comments on the facts at all, but the straightforward way he presents them makes them suggestive of meditation on the twin themes of human nature and civilization. How far is there a basic human nature which contains certain qualities in certain definite degrees, irrespective of environment? If so, what are its dominant characteristics? And why are civilized communities, with all their advantages and added security, so inferior in many respects to primitive ones? Has civilization warped human nature, or is there still a possibility that reason can assert herself again, as she did when men have been faced with overwhelming common danger, or have reached a certain stage of technical development? And can we thus retain the peace enjoyed by self-contained secure communities, while ever widening the circle of national interdependence?

All who are interested in their fellow men and the problem of human relationships will find this book a pleasant and easy introduction to the vast subjects of archæological and anthropological research.

NANCY SALINGER.

Dear Sir . . .



Van Zeeland Report

MR. HAROLD F. BING seems to me to misunderstand the relationship between the PPU and the Van Zeeland Report.

M. Van Zeeland is not a pacifist, neither are the people who requested him to explore the economic position and make what recommendations he considered necessary to reduce the obstacles to international trade.

He has made a very comprehensive and detailed investigation, and written a report which, within the limits of his mandate, goes a good deal further than we dared to hope when his mission was first announced.

To criticize his findings from the pacifist point of view is, if Mr. Bing will forgive me, simply ridiculous.

The sometime Prime Minister of Belgium was, and is, in full accord with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in that their main concern is the bolstering of capitalism.

To criticize the report under this head is equally futile.

The PPU as a body should welcome the report as, under the present capitalist system, a good step in the right direction, and, while not going so far as we pacifists hold to be necessary to achieve a permanent peace, does at least tend to bring about conditions far less likely to lead to war than the present chaotic state of the world.

And again, to hail M. Van Zeeland as a saviour is a suggestion which I hope, and, indeed, believe, has never entered the head of any pacifist.

Nor is there any tendency to rush to believe that the rulers of the world are beginning to see the error of their ways, except in so far as they are becoming increasingly alive to the fact that the present anarchic condition of international trade is frightfully akin to a sort of economic prelude to a major war.

To all the Russian proposals it is entirely beside the point. In M. Van Zeeland's view—here again he is in full accord with his principles—the idea of total disarmament is simply impracticable.

On the other hand, his own proposals come measurably within the bounds of present-day international politics.

As such, they are to be welcomed by all men of good will, including even the pacifists.

S. E. NEAL.

249 Cottingham Road, Hull

Voting Against A.R.P.

Does PEACE NEWS intend to support pacifist candidates in the spring elections? Does it intend to urge persons of all parties to support pacifists as a means of protesting against ARP? Does it intend to call upon all PPU groups to give their full support regardless of party to pacifists?

I intend (D.V.) to fight for a seat on the Tonbridge Urban District Council, as a pacifist candidate for the Junior Liberal League, therefore I ask the preceding questions. Naturally I am a PPU man.

JACK K. NUTLEY.

31 Danvers Road, Tonbridge.

Books and Peace

VERA BRITAIN'S article on Books and World Peace has, I am sure, been appreciated by a large number of your readers.

May I add to her list of books (necessarily short) which have by grim and ruthless realism, exposed the barbarity of war Stephen Graham's *Private in the Guards*.

The author is no pacifist, and his evidence may appeal with more force for that reason. The book is autobiographical and describes the moral degradation and physical brutality of military service both before and during the war.

I would also add *Kangaroo*, by D. H. Lawrence, a lamentation on the destruction of individuality in war time and the development of a discredited mass emotion; *Goodbye to All That*, by Robert Graves, and *All Our Yesterdays* by H. M. Tomlinson, all of which, I imagine will live.

Let us not forget, too, Miss Britain's own *Testament of Youth* and *Honourable Estate*, the former impressive in its sincere and faithful picture of our times from late Victorian to Georgian; the latter one of our best post-war chronicle novels, with a poignant yet alert approach to the personal problems of the war born of personal contact with them.

E. H. MITCHELL.

5 Springfield Gardens, Upminster, Essex.

British Imperialism

May I thank Wilfred Wellock for his painstaking reply to my letter concerning the boycott of Japan. His steadfast and patient advocacy of the renunciation of imperialism as the fundamental means of abolishing war I well know, and fully appreciate.

In my own humble way I have argued this same case for years, but I have now slowly come to realize that while I am presenting a theoretically watertight case—i.e., that we cannot logically oppose Japanese or Italian imperialism whilst British imperialism remains an accomplished fact—thousands of innocent human beings in China are at this very moment being shattered and killed and blasted to the skies.

How can we in the PPU, who have pledged ourselves never to sanction or support another war, content ourselves with arguing a case of theoretical purity, while an actual opportunity to oppose and obstruct a brutal war machine presents itself now?

By all means protest against British imperialism; by all means let pacifists work might and main to get a government installed which will genuinely set out to liquidate capitalist imperialism in favour of a non-exploiting world economy; but for humanity's sake let us also take what practical steps we can to prevent imperialism and the frightful violence that accompanies it from spreading still further in the world.

That is why the courageous action of dockers who refuse to handle war materials for Japan meets with my deep sympathy. They are unaware, perhaps, that they may be frequently helping to build up the British imperialist war machine in the course of their daily work; but they are at least helping the suffering Chinese people, and that is infinitely better than doing nothing practical at all in the fight against war.

Mr. Wellock sensed a feeling of helplessness in what I wrote, but I assure him that it is particularly when arguments of the "whole loaf or none" variety are advanced that people feel most helpless. If we cannot always be removing war's causes, let us still strive to mitigate its evils and, above all, to paralyse its sinews.

JOSEPH GORMAN.

26 Clements Road, E.6.

Non-Resistance

I ADMIRE in last week's PEACE NEWS John Nibb's treatment of those two dangers: the "just" war, and the personified nation.

But his attack on non-resistance made me rub my eyes. Non-resistance? Never heard of it!

Please give me big type for it—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE, as outlined in Gregg's *Power of Non-Violence* and de Lig's *Power of Violence*, makes every demand on the intellect, and to the pacifist is an indispensable technique. (Though he may use it unknowingly, as Mr. Jourdain used prose.)

What a pity there should be this confusion. C. Day Lewis makes the mistake in an attack on Aldous Huxley's *What Are You going to do about it?*

E. C. HAIGH.

23 Cromwell Road, Birchgrove, Cardiff.

Two Pacifist Views

In reply to Mr. Donald R. S. Day, both pacifists and absolute pacifists desire peace, the difference between these two groups consisting entirely in the views as to how that peace is to be attained.

The pacifist seeks a logical and common-sense solution to the problem of war, and therefore refrains from taking any active part in support of war.

It is a promise mainly intellectual in which it is realized that a war made possible by modern inventions is no "just fight" between those standing for "right" as opposed to "wrong," but just alternate cold-blooded annihilation of the people of both sides.

A difficulty in application has always arisen here in the conflict of opinion as to what exactly constitutes "right" and "wrong"—as in the case of a woman recently who was most anxious to prove to me that it was "our God" who won the Great War. Absolute pacifists on the other hand believe that the means are never justified by the end in view—the end always being determined by the means one employs both individually and collectively. (See Aldous Huxley's introduction to *Training for Peace*, Richard B. Clegg, PPU, 6d.) A realization that war leads to more war, that hate will breed more hate; and if we want to break this vicious circle, we must apply love in its truest sense to replace the existing hate (for the virtues are infectious as well as the vices).

This view is not to be arrived at by the intellect alone (for the living out of this belief entails sacrifice which, to the arid deserts of the intellect, often appears sheer madness), but by a way of living in which the mental, emotional and physical planes are taking an equal part in the growth and development of the best qualities in the individual—in other words a concentration on means and not the ends themselves.

The intellect can be a signpost to this way of living, but is distinctly limited as a sole means.

LESLIE WOOD.

Grand Hotel, Brighton.

Pacifist Poems

I regret the error in my letter published in PEACE NEWS of March 12. Edmond Rostand wrote *Cyrano de Bergerac*, and not Maurice Rostand, as I stated. I therefore would wish to modify the tone but not the substance of my information.

LEONARD READ.

Basque House, Langham, Colchester.

Railway Advertising

May I suggest what excellent publicity is available for pacifism in railway carriages. "These spaces are travelling salesmen," we read; "1,000 advertisements cost 2d. each for one year, or 3d. each for six months, or 4d. each for three months."

If some industrious pacifist could take this matter up and induce 1,000 others to subscribe say, 3d. per week, to cover cost of printing, our railway carriages could be adorned with many thought-provoking peace slogans.

A. W. THOMPSON.

29 Preston Gardens, Ilford.

A FIRST ATTEMPT

The East Grinstead Pax Players, in co-operation with the Crawley group produced three one-act plays—*Earl and Haddock*, *The Colour Question*, and *The Pen is Mightier*.

Although it was a first attempt, there was a "full house," which showed great appreciation.

The local press report was very encouraging, for it mentioned that *The Pen is Mightier*... clearly showed the futility of war.

R.A.F. Reserves

I CAN assure "Bar-n-Abbas" and fellow readers that no members of the firm of aircraft manufacturers by whom I was formerly employed, able bodied or otherwise, are required or even requested through the firm to become members of the Air Force Reserve.

There are, however, a considerable number of employees on the Royal Air Force Reserve, but these members are mostly RAF men who, on discharge from the service, agree to sign on the reserve for a number of years.

When near the termination of this period of reserve, they are asked if they will sign for a further period. All this is done direct from Air Ministry to man and has no connection with the firm employing the man.

F. R. JENKINS.

1 St. Pancras Houses, Southampton Road, N.W.5

"... Told by an Idiot"

After reading the review of... *Told by an Idiot* (PEACE NEWS, March 12), I am bewildered. I fail to understand how anyone having read this play could possibly arrive at the fantastic summary—"The play has a village in it, and village characters, including an idiot boy with a sinister laugh, and an elm tree that is cut down to make way for a war memorial." A more careful reading would at least have revealed that the elm tree in question was not cut down to make way for a war memorial.

Further, are we to regard the Sixth Commandment—the theme of the play—as "a moral idea" to be juggled with "like a rabbit out of a hat"?

To me, a believer in the ideals of Pacifism, based on the Commandment "Thou shalt not kill," the play is absorbingly interesting, and the issue raised a vital one to every thinking man and woman.

RENEE FONTAIGNE.

Eastern Cottage, Gomshall, Surrey.

Our reviewer writes:—

I am sorry if I made a mistake about the elm tree. But I stick to the sinister laugh and the rabbit; it was the dramatist, I meant to imply, who was doing the juggling.

I recognize the excellence of his intention, but to me it seemed that there was a pre-tentiousness and unreality in the treatment which made it impossible for me to recommend the play as useful propaganda.

A Suggested Club

I wish to suggest that we may contribute to the constructive work for peace by establishing a club in London with these two objects:—

1. To promote friendly social intercourse among people of all races and nationalities.
 2. To encourage the study and appreciation of the literature and art of all countries.
- This social and cultural work is as important as any other. The All People's Association is unfortunately defunct. There is now no such cosmopolitan club in London.

HAR DAYAL.

34 Churchill Road, Edgware.

(More Letters on next page)

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Signposts . . .

VICTORY BY WAR

leads to

MORE WAR

Commenting on Sir William Barton's article in the "Manchester Guardian," reviewing the work of the bombing plane on the North-West Frontier of India (quoted in this feature last week), Lady Artemus-Jones wrote, in a letter published on March 11:—

SIR William's review of the results of bombing on the North-West Frontier bears out the pacifist argument that armed violence is inefficient as well as inhuman. Confirmation of this view has recently come from Southern Arabia, where similar methods have been used. The result in this case has undoubtedly been to aggravate anti-British feeling not only in Arabia but also in Palestine.

. . . from History

LETTERS—continued

Press Propaganda

A popular evening paper commented on Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons (March 14) with these words:—

It reflected that new temper which the latest events in Europe have evoked in the British people.

This is a blatant example of the propagandist function which the general press has lately been serving. A non-thinking reader (there are many of them!) sees a statement that British public opinion, of which he believes himself to form a part, has taken a new attitude; he accepts the statement; therefore, he begins to think the thoughts implied behind it. He does not realize that he is believing what he is told to believe.

It is thus that the press helps in bringing about that glorious illusion which in 1914 induced the optimistic to "fight for democracy against militarism."

MARIE BATCHELOR.

63 Winchenden Road,
Teddington, Middlesex.

The Younger Generation

The events of the past few days point to the futility and hopelessness of political parties.

Political expediency demanded that the Labour Party should support the Government's arms programme; now political expediency demands that they should support the Government's man programme. It will not be called conscription. It is quite inevitable that all this should be, for political expediency is their real motive, never mind what they say otherwise.

Is it because of the blind trust in parties and governments that the growth of mankind is so slow?

Max Plowman's recent notes on war are most encouraging. He says: "War is a personal matter. It is not like politics, something that can be deputed."

Therefore let us aim, not for an army of politicians, but for a body of young men and women who will be able to say "No" to violence and war, as some of us did in the last war.

I wish sometimes there was an age-limit for active membership of the PPU, and I wonder what proportion of the membership and audiences constitute elderly politicians who think they are called upon to lead the young people.

It is the young people who will have to face the real crises, and perhaps soon. I hope moral issues and not politics will be their stronghold.

And when they do realize that moral issues are at stake, and that their part in life should be of such a character, they can throw off the yoke of militarism in one generation.

E. H. CLOGG.

243 Holdenhurst Road, Bournemouth.

NOT PARTICULAR

"I suppose," said the kindly financier, looking through his pocket-book for a new note, "you would rather have clean money?"

"Oh, that's all right, sir," said the taxi-driver, "I don't care how you made your dough."—*Shop Assistant*, March 12.

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VAN ZEELAND
REPORT

An American View

An article by Walter Lippmann in the March issue of "International Conciliation," the monthly organ of the American Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, puts an American view of the Van Zeeland Report. Following are extracts:—

WHAT he (M. Van Zeeland) proposes is to go faster and further in the direction in which the President and Secretary Hull have been moving in their tariff and foreign exchange policies.

There is no question here of a new untried paper scheme that has no connexion with anything that is actually happening. What M. Van Zeeland proposes today is in principle, and probably also in its programme, just about what Mr. Hull would be proposing anyway when he has concluded his chief trade agreements and is ready to take the next step.

M. Van Zeeland is merely saying that the process can and should be accelerated, that in order to avert the political dangers with which Europe is threatened we should bring these economic reforms into practical politics now, and not when it may be too late.

It is obvious that the centre of the difficulty lies in the fact that M. Van Zeeland wishes Germany and Italy to enter into a regime of low and stable tariffs and of free monetary exchange. Difficulty arises on both sides.

There is the question as to whether a totalitarian State can in fact enter a free world economy and remain a totalitarian State with all that that implies in the way of militarization and of military self-sufficiency. There is the question whether the more liberal States would be willing to give Germany and Italy the proposed economic advantages and the financial assistance in view of their feeling that all this would merely serve to enhance the military power of the fascist States.

These are real difficulties, and one hesitates to speak dogmatically about them. But though I do not feel altogether sure of my ground, I am disposed to think that the democratic States can afford to invite the totalitarian States to enter such a liberal regime.

For if they enter it, they must become less totalitarian and must make themselves more rather than less dependent upon the outer world; and if they refuse, they will then not be able to say that the rich democracies are trying to strangle them.

The French particularly are saying that before they could invite Italy and Germany into such an order of things, they must have political and military guarantees. But what guarantees are possible, what guarantees would in fact be more binding than to turn Germany and Italy away from military self-sufficiency, and involve them in an interdependence with the rest of the world? M. Van Zeeland, who appreciates the dangers of war quite as well as anyone, must have assumed that Germany and Italy can accept such an invitation only if there is a radical change of their political policy.

Be that as it may, the Van Zeeland programme does not stand or fall on the question of whether Germany and Italy accept it.

The programme is still entirely sound, even if Germany and Italy reject it. For they are only a part of the world, a relatively small part, and in the rest of the world the application of these principles would still make the peoples richer, would still strengthen their free institutions, would still bind them more closely together.

We do not have in this report a case of all or nothing. We have rather the definition of a general purpose and the outline of a general programme which will work beneficially for as many nations as choose to adopt it.

A little of it will bring some good. More of it will bring more good. All of it might lay the foundations of a long century of world peace.

Diary of the Week

March
26 (Sat.) **BRADFORD**: 3 p.m. Tokio Café; quarterly meeting of West Yorkshire Federation; tea 1s. 6d.; PPU.

HUDDERSFIELD: 3 p.m. Central Adult School, Dundas Street; conference on "Power of Non-Violence"; R. C. Wood; For.

BRIXTON: 3 p.m.; 195 Brixton Hill; Robert Mennell on "Conscientious Objection 1916-1919"; 6.30 p.m. Dion Byngam on "The Psychology of Pacifism 1938"; PPU.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES: 6.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Eden Street; poster parade; PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m. 96 Regent Street; poster parade on ARP; PPU.

FALLOWFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Portland Grove School, Wilmstow Road; Three Plays of St. Francis by Laurence Housman; admission 6d.; PPU.

HULL: 8 p.m. Royal Institute, Albion Street; Marquis of Tavistock, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Mary Gamble, and Rev. Maurice Clack (chairman); PPU and For.

27 (Sun.) **SOUTH KENSINGTON**: 31 Cromwell Road; one-day school; 2.30 p.m. Rev. R. Sorensen on "Pacifism and Politics"; 6.15 p.m. Mrs. Edith Hunter on "The Present Situation in India"; PPU.

CLAPHAM COMMON: 3 p.m. Open air Meeting; Mrs. Arnold; PPU.

WATFORD: 3 p.m. New Regal Cinema, King Street; Donald O. Soper, Miss Ruth Fry, John Barclay, Herbert Seed, and L. C. Johnson (chairman); PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH: 3.15 p.m. Punshon Memorial Methodist Church; Lawrence Housman on "Christianity and War"; supported by Percy Ellacott and Rev. J. H. Bedford (chairman); PPU.

PETERBOROUGH: 3 p.m. Barrass Memorial Hall, Park Road; Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Mary Gamble, Anthony C. Gilpin (chairman); PPU.

BATTERSEA: 8.15 p.m. Queen's Way Hall, Methodist Church, Queen's Road; John Barclay; PPU.

27—**APRIL 2 (Sun.—Sat.) PENZANCE** and **ST. IVES** District Peace Week; LNU.

28 (Mon.) **LONDON, N.W.1**: 5 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. Ruth v. Schulze-Gavernitz on "The Near East: its Role in History and in the Present Situation"; Friends' Service Council.

BOURNEMOUTH: 8 p.m. Pokesdown Congregational Church Guild, Southbourne Road; Laurence Housman on "The Price of Peace"; PPU.

HODDESDON: 8 p.m. Lowewood; Dr. Alex Wood on "Pacifism and Practical Politics"; PPU.

BLACKHEATH: 8.15 p.m. Concert Hall; Lord Allen of Hurtwood on "How to Rebuild Peace in Europe"; LNU.

29 (Tues.) **LONDON, N.W.1**: 7.30 p.m. Father Jellicoe Hall, Drummond Crescent, Seymour Street; Group Leaders' meeting; two one-act plays by PPU Drama Group; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Dudley Road; Cr. Mrs. Lennard, John Ballinger, Sydney Conbeer and others; No More War Movement.

WINCHESTER: 8 p.m. Awdry Rooms; Nigel Spottiswoode on "The Alternative to Rearmament"; Rev. Canon R. B. Lloyd (chairman); PPU.

30 (Wed.) **SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA**: 3 p.m. Memorial Hall, Nelson Street; debate; Canon Stuart Morris and Sir Christopher Robinson; PPU.

KINGSWAY: 8 p.m. Wild Court; open air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

ST. IVES (Cornwall): 8 p.m. Palais de Danse; Marie Louise Moll; PPU.

WEALDSTONE: 8 p.m. Labour Hall; Roy Walker; PPU.

WESTMINSTER: 8.30 p.m. 194 Vauxhall Bridge Road; Rev. G. W. Cameron Price on "The Political Obligations of Christian Pacifists"; PPU.

31 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**: 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Capt. Philip S. Mumford on "Pacifist Activities in War-Time"; City PPU group.

MANCHESTER: 1.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; J. Middleton Murry on "The Price of Peace"; PPU.

LONDON, E.C.4: 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; continuation of discussion on Non-Violence; City PPU group.

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Savoy Café, South Parade; W. L. Williams; PPU.

HARROGATE: 8 p.m. The Spa Rooms; Canon Raven, Rev. Henry Carter, Rev. P. D. Robins (chairman); PPU.

HERNE HILL: 8 p.m. 19 Winterbrooke Road; Malcolm Smith on "The Colonial Question"; PPU.

April
1 (Fri.) **CARDIFF**: 2.30 p.m. Tabernacle Baptist Church, the Hayes; United Ministers' Conference; "The Church and Peace."

CARDIFF: 7.30 p.m. Tabernacle Baptist Church; Rev. Leslie Artingstall and Rev. C. Paul Gliddon.

BOW: 8 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Powis Road; Maurice Pearlman on "Palestine Communities."

CROYDON: 8 p.m. North End Hall; Laurence Housman, and Capt. Philip Mumford; PPU.

1-30 (Fri.—Sat.) **NEWTON ABBOT**: Devon Square; Peace Shop; PPU.

2 and 3 (Sat. & Sun.) **LONDON, N.W.1**: Friends House, Euston Road; Annual General Meeting; PPU.

3 (Sun.) **PLYMOUTH**: 3 p.m. Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain; Laurence Housman; PPU.

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SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD, Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

SITUATIONS

Wanted

ADAPTABLE YOUNG MAN, aged 24, seeks permanent progressive situation in accounts of any description, having had nearly eight years' experience in insurance accounts and having passed intermediate examination of Corporation of Accountants.—Box 64, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

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Red-Hot News

Pacifists Fight for the King

By Our Special Correspondent at the Front

THIS is a tale of patriotic endeavour, of soul-stirring heroism, of last Saturday afternoon's adventures, in the Royal Park of Richmond.

The scene was a sylvan glade, through which three members of the Peace Pledge Union were strolling, admiring the beauties of nature.

Suddenly, they espied clouds of smoke and heard roaring sounds in the distance. Advancing at the double, they were soon on the spot and beheld to their horror an extensive grass fire.

They flew to the Lodge near by, commandeered three brooms, and the United Front of Thornton Heath, Clapham, and Richmond, regardless of their clothes and property, advanced with grim self-sacrifice against the foe. And mirabile dictu, that United Front worked, in more ways than one!

A Royal Victory

All thoughts of their selling PEACE NEWS in the evening were gone; they stuck grimly to their task, till their work was well and truly done, till the enemy was conquered, till the mopping-up operations were concluded.

The enemy was completely wiped out, but casualties on the PPU side were happily confined to a burnt jumper and a few cinder-burns here and there. No ovals greeted their efforts; they modestly effaced themselves, having suddenly remembered an urgent appointment with lots of soap and water.

Late News

According to latest reports, cleaning up and deodorizing operations are still in progress, and all the splinters have not yet been extracted.

A Peace Society Comes of age

Next Saturday evening will see the celebration, by means of a birthday social, of the coming of age of the first peace society to be formed in Croydon—the Croydon and district branch of the Women's International League.

The social will be held in the Adult School Hall, Park Lane, Croydon, at 7.45 p.m. The programme will include short speeches and a play by the Croydon Pax Players.

Tickets are obtainable, price 1s., from Mrs. Spratt, 16, Little Heath Road, Selsdon. Foreign visitors will be admitted free of charge, by ticket obtainable in advance.

A RECORD OF GROWTH

The first annual general meeting of the St. Pancras Building Society was held on Wednesday of last week in the Kingsway Hall, London.

The chairman, Mr. W. G. Briggs, in his speech to a representative gathering of members (many of whom are connected with peace movements), outlined the progress of the society from its incorporation, and stated that, since the end of December last, the number of shareholders had increased very considerably, while the mortgage assets had, in the first three months of this year, grown by over fifty percent.

The progress, Mr. Briggs said, would continue, and to provide for the expansion the directors had secured suitable freehold premises, on very advantageous terms, in Park Street, Regents Park, N.W.1. The building would be known as St. Pancras House, and it would be opened as soon as the necessary alterations had been completed.

High tribute was paid to Mr. E. W. Bales as one of the founders of the society and the moving spirit behind its growth and activities.

EVENTS COMING SHORTLY

April

5 (Tues.) NEWCASTLE; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street; Maurice Rowntree, Roy Walker, and Rev. R. G. Bell (chairman); PPU, FoR, and Friends' Peace Committee.

14-19 (Thurs.—Tuesday) WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA; Easter Youth Conference; FoR.

May

14 (Sat.) NORWICH; St. Andrews Hall; delegate peace convention; George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, Mary Gamble, James Hudson, Dr. Alex Wood, Dr. Salter, and Wilfred Wellock; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

19 (Thurs.) NORWICH; 8 p.m. Stuart Hall; Bertrand Russell; PPU.

21-25 (Thurs.—Mon.) LONDON, W.C.1; University College, Gower Street; International Conference of Teachers; Education Committee of the League of Nations Union.

TWO IMPORTANT SPEECHES American Policy Defined "Austria Saved from Fate of Spain"

"We may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs, but we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Isolation is not a means to security; it is a fruitful source of insecurity."

This was the keynote of an address by Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, on Thursday of last week. The following is a summary of the speech, which was taken as representing the U.S. Government's views:—

Mr. Hull expressed "deep concern over the rising tide of lawlessness, the growing disregard of treaties, the increasing reversion to the use of force, and the numerous other ominous tendencies which are emerging in the sphere of international relations."

"The crucial issue today is whether... international anarchy based on brute force will inundate the world and ultimately sweep away the very bases of civilization and progress."

In regard to the Far East Mr. Hull said: "In announcing our intention to afford appropriate and reasonable protection to our rights and interests in the Far East I stated clearly that we are fully determined to avoid the extremes either of internationalism or of isolationism."

"Steering a sound middle course between these two extremes we are convinced that a policy of affording appropriate protection—under the rule of reason in such form as may be best suited to the particular circumstances and in accordance with the principles we advocate—is imperatively needed to serve our national interest."

"MEANS OF SECURITY"

As the rule of force had not yet been firmly and surely supplanted by the rule of law, continued Mr. Hull, it was "the manifest duty of a great nation to maintain armed forces adequate for its national defence... It is the duty of the Federal Government to ensure the safety of our country and to determine what 'means of security' are at any given moment needed to provide against 'the means and the danger of attack.'"

Mr. Hull went on to refer to cooperation with other nations: "Where this and other nations have common interests and common objectives we should not hesitate to exchange information and to confer with the government of such other nations and, in dealing with the problems confronting each alike, to proceed along parallel lines—this government retaining at all times its independence of judgment and freedom of action."

After a reference to collaboration undertaken in connexion with the Far East, he said: "We have scrupulously followed and we intend to follow the traditional policy of our country not to enter into entangling alliances or involvements with other countries."

PEACE PROPOSALS CONDEMNED

Several of the more important proposals which have been made for keeping America out of war were then condemned by Mr. Hull—such as the referendum plan, automatic application of the Neutrality Act, and retirement from the Far East.

The latter would, he claimed, mean abandoning "orderly processes in international relationships."

Isolation was a snare, he said. "Only by making our reasonable contribution to a firm establishment of a world order based on law can we keep the problem of our own security in true perspective and thus discharge our responsibility."

COMMUNITY BEFORE THE INDIVIDUAL

TWO resolutions are to be forwarded to Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, MP for the Kilmarnock division, as a result of a meeting held there last Friday. They are as follows:—

1. Permanent peace can be secured only by placing the welfare of humanity and the interest of the whole community of nations before the narrower interests of any individual nation.

2. This meeting of Kilmarnock citizens desires Mr. Kenneth Lindsay to ask for a full parliamentary consideration of the Van Zeeland report, and presses on him the urgency there is for constructive action in economic appeasement.

The meeting, presided over by the Rev. R. Gourlay Black, was held in the Dick Institute and was addressed by Miss Mary Gamble, the Rev. George Macleod, and A. B. Mackay, of Glasgow.

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Summaries of

"Austria Saved from Fate of Spain"

In a speech to the Reichstag on Friday last, Herr Hitler stressed the principle of self-determination—of which "other nations were bearers, as the binding principle of their actions during the greatest war of all times"—as justifying his action concerning Austria.

In the past Austria had been denied the right of self-determination, he declared.

"Germany has now once more become a world Power. But which Power of the world would calmly tolerate in the long run that a host of its own members numbering millions should be most bitterly ill-treated before its very gates? There are moments when it is impossible for a proud nation to look on any longer."

Reviewing his talks at Berchtesgaden with Dr. Schuschnigg, Hitler said: "I left Schuschnigg in no doubt on the matter that there was no German-born Austrian with a feeling of national decency and honour who did not at the bottom of his heart long for a union with the German people and would strive toward it."

He went on to refer to the way out of the situation he had shown Dr. Schuschnigg, and to the warning of the consequences of his refusing to take it.

Then came the Dr. Schuschnigg's plan for a plebiscite, which, said Herr Hitler, was "an attempted attack not only against the agreement worked out between us but also, and principally against the majority of the Austrian people."

ATTITUDE OF OTHER NATIONS

"The vote in question was put in such a way that a refusal appeared punishable according to the laws then in force."

"Schuschnigg desired a mandate for a further and still more brutal oppression of the overwhelming majority of the German-Austrian people. This breaking of his word and this measure could only lead to an insurrection."

"I therefore immediately gave orders for those measures to be taken which appeared adequate to save Austria from the fate of Spain."

The attitude of Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and other nations was mentioned with approval before Herr Hitler went on to refer to Italy: "If there could have been a strengthening of the relations between Italy and Germany it took place then. The land and the frontiers of this friend, however, are to us inviolable."

"I repeat that I shall never forget Mussolini's attitude."

The speech concluded with an appeal for "another four years so that I can now exploit the accomplished union for the benefit of all."

PARS for the PLATFORM

"Sobering" Effect

LATEST evidence showing how far Mr. Chamberlain was right in saying that British rearmament would have a "sobering" effect upon the world:—

Italy.—Speaking in the Chamber this afternoon (March 15) on the Navy Estimates, Admiral Cavnagari, Under-Secretary for the Navy, said that in 1941, when the programme of naval construction announced on January 7 had been completed, Italy would possess about 700,000 tons of warships, representing 240,000 tons of battleships, 160,000 tons of cruisers, 190,000 tons of light craft, and over 100,000 tons of submarines. He added that it was possible that the figures quoted might have to be increased. (The Times.)

Sweden.—In a crowded Riksdag this afternoon (March 16) the Prime Minister asked that an extra grant of at least 50,000,000 kronor (£2,500,000) should be placed immediately at the Government's disposal for defence. An extra grant of 20,000,000 kronor (£1,000,000) for anti-aircraft defence had previously been asked for. (The Times.)

Holland.—The Dutch Government intend to transfer the conscripts who should have gone home on March 25 to various places on the Dutch frontier. The frontier Customs guards are being reinforced. (The Times, March 17.)

Norway.—Conversations between the political parties on extraordinary grants for defence were expected to finish today (March 18), as it was understood that they had agreed on the sum of 37,000,000 kronor (about £1,900,000). Owing to the dangerous developments during the past few days, however, the view is taken that a larger grant may be necessary, and the conversations will therefore continue next week. (The Times.)

Australia.—After a meeting of the Council of Defence on March 18, Mr. Lyons, the Premier, said that a large increase in the defence vote was imperative. The measures approved would greatly strengthen the forces, expand the capacity of the munition factories, and advance the steps necessary to convert industry to war purposes in an emergency.

Good for Business

THE above indications of a further acceleration of the arms race are also signs of good business for those who

Conference to Remove Causes of War

ACTION BY M.P.s

THE following motion has been placed on the Order Paper of the House of Commons by Dr. Haden Guest and other Labour members and is due for discussion "on an early day":—

That this House is of opinion that an essential condition of enduring peace in Europe lies in a settlement of the economic difficulties of the nations, and especially the economic difficulties arising out of or in connexion with the peace treaties concluded after the end of the world war, 1914 to 1918, and requires the Government to take the initiative in calling a European and Near Eastern conference, under the auspices of the League of Nations, to consider the settlement of outstanding questions, including both European and colonial problems.

TEACHERS TO MEET IN LONDON

The Education Committee of the League of Nations Union is organizing an International Conference of Teachers to take place from April 21 to 25.

Members will arrive in London on April 21, the first session taking place at 10.30 a.m. the next day, when members of the conference will be received at University College. Speakers at the various sessions will include Mr. H. G. Wells, Professor Piaget, Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, and Lord Allen of Hurtwood.

A public closing session will be held in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall at 10.30 a.m. on April 25.

Further details are obtainable from the Secretary, League of Nations Union Education Committee, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

WAR RISKS INSURANCE

In our March 5 issue we referred, under the above heading, to a proposal to form a company for the specific purpose of insuring householders against damage in the event of war, it being suggested that those concerned did not intend to provide any measure of real insurance.

The paragraph in question did not, of course, refer to the existing Property Owners' War Risks Mutual Society, and our statement therefore had no reference to the members or directors of that company.

answer the cry for arms and yet more arms.

Thus accounts for Vickers-Armstrong, published last week, show an increase in net profit of about £100,000 to £867,540 (after providing for taxation, £125,000 extra for depreciation, and also for "contingencies, including those arising out of the rearmament programme").

The ordinary dividend for 1937 is ten percent—the same as the previous year; for 1936 eight percent was paid.

133 Percent

TAKING the armament industry as a whole, we find that the total profits of 37 leading iron and steel firms with important armament interests, have increased from £4,829,256 in 1934 to £11,240,794 in 1937. This increase of £6,411,538 represents a jump of 133 percent in three years. The arms programme did not start until 1935.

Our Spies Abroad

AFTER several inquiries in the House of Commons during question time recently, concerning alleged activities of certain British citizens in Russia, the following dialogue took place:—

Mr. THURTELL (Shoreditch, Lab.)—Can the right hon. gentleman state specifically that there are no British Intelligence officers in Soviet Russia?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.—That is another question altogether.

What War Costs Japan

EXTRAORDINARY estimates for the China "incident," published last week, amount to 4,850,000,000 yen (about £242,500,000), all of which is to be borrowed.

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PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

By our Lobby Correspondent

IN these days of great political excitement Parliament is not half so interesting as the public meetings outside. Although PEACE NEWS expects me to tell its readers what is happening at Westminster from the pacifist point of view, everybody at Westminster seems concerned to be told what the electorate is thinking.

Most MPs have heard the drone of "Chamberlain must go." The slogan, however, does not strike them all the same way.

There is, of course, plenty of reason why Chamberlain should go, if only because he stands as much as any man in Europe for the belief that "terrifying armed force" is capable of giving us security.

Moreover, it is Chamberlain as much as any other statesman who bears the responsibility for our national and imperial economic exclusiveness, as exhibited in the present Protectionist policy. Chamberlain has, therefore, done more than most to push this country down the slope leading to the abyss of war.

All the same, the Prime Minister now seems to be making desperate efforts to arrest the consequences of his policy. We may take leave to doubt whether a statesman with his record has the real capacity and courage to do what the world now needs.

But it is a sign of grace that Mr. Chamberlain at least shows signs of appreciating the facts. He knows what awaits this country and the world, if he consents to do what both oppositions have asked him to do.

Whatever our indignation about Austria or Czechoslovakia, there can be no doubt what the "enforcement of treaties" (to quote the official Labour Party phrase) would now mean. It would mean a war where our own and the French armies would get nowhere near to Czechoslovakia for months. Millions of Tommies and Poilus would die in the remilitarized Rhine lands before we could join hands with the Czechs for their defence.

Of course, there would be the aeroplanes, yet what could our planes do for the defence of Prague? Worse still, what could we do against the enemy planes over London?

Barcelona has been bad enough with only a few planes to upset all Professor Haldane's new untried theories about the possibilities of "defence" against air attack. **What would happen in London when the armadas instead of the platoons appear in the sky?**

It stands to Mr. Chamberlain's credit that so far he has resisted pressure from France, from Russia, and the communists, from Mr. Churchill, from the Liberals, from the Labour Party, and from the "Left" meetings in the country.

He has not agreed to go to war either for Czechoslovakia or Austria. He has even risked the censure—if it is a censure—of advising Lithuania to yield to the bullying demands of Poland rather than hazard a conflagration which could only have been quenched finally in Berlin and Moscow (and, may be, in London).

The Labour Party possesses within the four corners of its programme a policy for economic appeasement and international cooperation. Nothing Mr. Chamberlain even visualized in his dreams is capable of securing so much for permanent peace.

Yet, now, at the last minute, when we may almost hear the tocsin pealing, the Labour Party permits Mr. Chamberlain to secure entire credit for an

effort to keep us out of an unparalleled catastrophe.

Parliament has nothing more astonishing to offer. Why does not the party which has really a scheme for the agenda of an international conference insist on the summoning of such a conference?

Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, for example, says the danger of general war could be averted if Great Britain would declare that she stood with all her power behind the Covenant. Surely this is madness!

Not even France shows any sign of sending her armies into Barcelona. At best her guns are conveyed only to positions on this side of the Pyrenees. Neither the French Government nor the British Labour Party (according to the indignant disclosures of Mr. Attlee during the speech of Sir John Simon) are willing to do more for the Covenant or for Spain than accord to the Spanish Government the right to buy arms from armament manufacturers too busy now in supplying all they can make to other countries.

If Mr. Noel-Baker's assertion means anything, it means that we are to put all our armed strength behind the Covenant, to drive Japan out of China, Italy out of Abyssinia, Hitler out of Austria, the Poles away from the Lithuanian frontier and Franco's allies out of Spain.

Mr. Noel-Baker says there are hundreds of millions of people waiting for the sort of lead he wants Britain to give. I imagine that Mr. Chamberlain has a different view of what the millions want, particularly the millions in Britain.

The crowds who chant "Chamberlain must go," and they are very considerable in size, only rally the Conservatives behind their leader. **No doubt, they are carrying out Stalin's recent injunction that the Left everywhere should use their political pressure in support of the "Red armies and aviation."**

Their pressure in this country has done little more than capture the Labour Party for the communist thesis of a war for the extermination of fascism, and the Labour Party has more to fear from communism than from fascism. **Communism embraces the Labour Party now, to strangle it later.**

The Labour Party suffers much from its leaders' efforts to earn the cheers of the Left while trying to doge the rebukes of the Right.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the debate on Spain, seized with devastating effect on the assertion of the Labour leaders that they had no desire for this country to intervene in the Spanish war.

Against this Sir John Simon quoted the confession of Mr. Arthur Greenwood: "I have done what I can to provide arms for Spain, we have done a great deal more than we dare say in public."

This speaks well for Mr. Greenwood's chivalry and revolutionary fervour, but it did not wear well in debate.

In the debate on the navy estimates, Mr. Sorensen dealt with what he called the sheer nonsense of using the British navy to defend the Empire against the rest of the world.

That was admirable. But what did he mean by the following?

It is better to approach another conception of associated defence than mere alliance, namely, associated defence through the League of Nations.

In an altercation with Commander Marsden, Mr. Sorensen said that Lord Sanderson resigned from the Labour Party "because he is a pacifist. He did not believe in arms at all."

This was not precisely as Lord Sanderson stated, but it is valuable as indicating Mr. Sorensen's view that a pacifist does not believe in arms at all, not even in a British navy used for "associated defence." I don't think anyone would quarrel with that.

OPPORTUNITY FOR BAPTIST PACIFISTS

A REQUEST for support from all pacifists and true lovers of peace, and especially from Baptist pacifists, has been expressed by Sidney H. A. Norris, who will ask for permission to move the incorporation of the following resolution in the public resolution (on peace) to be moved at the Baptist Union Assembly to be held in London from April 25 to 28:—

That this Assembly of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, believing that all war is contrary to the spirit and genius of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, declares its readiness to support to the utmost those members of the Baptist Church who decide to stand by the Christian faith and refuse to take any part in the preparation for, or the prosecution of war.

The full Council of the Baptist Union decided that they were unable to print Mr. Norris's resolution in the programme of the assembly as it seemed to them that it would be tantamount to endorsing it.

BRITAIN AND FASCISM

Quoting Mr. Chamberlain's avowal, "I personally would fight for democracy to the last drop of my blood," Professor C. E. M. Joad asked a Brondesbury Hall (Kilburn, N.W.) peace meeting last week:

"Isn't this just one of those occasions in history, when old men fight in the persons of young men, knowing perfectly well that they themselves are going to be secure?"

Professor Joad continued:

You can't secure peace in the world by merely building up superior force, because all that you do is to provoke those against whom you are building this force to build a force that is greater still.

If Britain were to engage in war the result would be iron, authoritarian rule in this country indistinguishable from fascism.

Other speakers included Lt.-Commander E. P. Young and Mrs. Amabel Williams-Ellis, the authoress. The meeting was organized by the Hampstead Peace Council.

Dutch to see British Peace Propaganda

From Our Own Correspondent

Rijswijk, Monday.

Splendid material has already been received from different countries for the stand showing peace propaganda which The Hague section of the Women's International League will run at the exhibition opening in The Hague next Saturday.

The exhibition is being held by the Brotherhood Federation in Holland.

Among the British organizations which have already sent material for the WIL stand, are the Fellowship of Reconciliation, PPU, and Friends' Peace Committee. The stand will be designed to show the public that several European countries have active war resisters.

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Education

Training For World Citizenship

"The clarion call must be for education . . . in the schools, in the press, and on the air." So wrote Ian Keith Mackay, in an essay which won the continental prize for Australia and New Zealand in the world essay competition held by the New History Society. Below we give extracts from his essay, which dealt with education for world citizenship.

MAN, who incessantly strives to overcome disease, passively accepts war as a centuries-old incurable plague.

Is not that all the more reason why this generation should begin to inoculate mankind against the ravages of inter-cine strike which has scourged the human race throughout its march from barbarism to enlightenment?

The prevention of smallpox was understood long before vaccination became universal, but years of education and propaganda were necessary before its advantages were accepted.

Today inoculation is universal, and if smallpox could be conquered by education, why not use the same method to combat war?

The Nursery

Why not demilitarize the nursery? War toys turn the nursery into a recruiting ground, and should have no place in our homes.

An educated public would soon force the manufacturers to make playthings that would train children to think in terms of construction and not destruction; that would exemplify man's inventions for the betterment of humanity, not for its assassination.

In the Schools

When all the treaties and pacts have been inscribed on parchment, the final decision rests with the masses. It is apparent then that the correct education of our children is a duty of paramount importance. But instruction is not necessarily education.

It is not sufficient to say that war is wrong. We must go further and see that child education is along cooperative and instructive lines.

This will necessitate readjustments, and we must urge upon our educationists the necessity for a complete revision of those school history books written from a purely nationalistic angle and dealing in half-truths. We should encourage our children to look beyond the province or nation, and regard themselves as part of a cooperative entity.

By all means teach the children love of country, but let that teaching rest on firmer ground than distrust of other countries. Nationalist text-books tend to create distrust and instil in the minds of the young a heritage of hate or scorn for the customs and culture of other lands. Let us, rather, work for the establishment of international correspondence groups in various countries, official encouragements for the children to produce peace plays, together with exhibitions of pictures and films depicting various civilizations and peoples.

In short let us so educate the young that in later years they may take their places as citizens in a world commonwealth of nations. As we educate the child, so shall we either repeat the tragedy of yesterday or open up the vista of a glorious tomorrow.

(Further extracts will appear next week.)

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